

(The)
HISTORY OF ENGLAND,
 by
 (The Right Honorable)
SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH, LL.D: M.P.

VOLUME THE THIRD.



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ADVERTISEMENT.

SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH had proceeded to the 211th page of the Third Volume of his "History of England," when literature and his country were deprived of him by his lamented death. His manuscript breaks off with the section ending at the 15th line of the above-mentioned page in the present volume.

The History will be continued with an entire concurrence in Sir James Mackintosh's developed principles and views: at the same time, with a full sense of the continuator's disadvantages, in coming after one whose capacity and reputation placed him so high. It will, however, be the study of the continuator to pursue the course of events with the same disposition to vindicate and advance the principles of religious and political freedom, promote civilisation, and cultivate the sentiments of humanity, which have distinguished his predecessor.

The manuscripts left by Sir James Mackintosh relating to English affairs at the time of the Revolution of 1688 have been purchased by the proprietors of the Cyclopædia, and will be used as occasion shall require in the progress of the work.

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ENGLAND.

CHAP. I.

ELIZABETH.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF ELIZABETH TO THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

1558—1561.

WHEN the lords and commons, assembled under Mary's writs of summons, met on the 17th of November, 1558, they found parliament, according to the ancient constitution, legally dissolved by the decease of the sovereign who had called it together. The lords, however, desired the attendance of the members of the house of commons to receive an important communication; and when they came to the bar, archbishop Heath, the chancellor, desired their concurrence, as considerable men of the realm, in the solemnities which the demise of the crown required. "The cause of your calling hither," said he to those who had just ceased to be the knights, citizens, and burgesses, "is to signify to you that the lords are certified that God has this morning called to his mercy our late sovereign; a mishap heavy and grievous to us; but we have no less cause to rejoice that God has left unto us a true, lawful, and right inheritress in the person of the lady Elizabeth, of whose title to the same (thanks be to God) we need not to doubt." * Wherefore

* Holinshed, iv. 155. The information in the Journals is scanty.

the lords have determined, with your consent, to pass from hence unto the palace, and there to proclaim the lady Elizabeth queen of this realm. The commons answered by cries of "Long live queen Elizabeth!" and the lords and commons proceeded to the great gate of Westminster Hall, where she was proclaimed by the heralds with the accustomed solemnities, in the midst of shouts of joy from the surrounding multitude. The lords, perhaps, considered themselves to be acting as counselors of the crown; but their desire of the consent of the dissolved commons gave an appearance of a parliamentary proclamation to the solemnity.

Elizabeth received the tidings of this great change in her fortune at Hatfield, where she had resided for several years in the mild custody of sir Thomas Pope, but under the watchful eye of a guard. On being apprised of her accession, she fell down on her knees, saying, "This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes." * She almost instantly gave an earnest of the principles which were to govern her reign, by accepting, on the same day, a note of advice † on the most urgent matters from sir William Cecil, whom she restored to the post of secretary of state, which he had occupied under Edward, and from which he was removed by Mary. Although he was charged by some with a few compliances in the latter years of that princess, he was, nevertheless, known and trusted as a zealous and tried adherent of the protestant cause. He was sworn a privy counsellor on the 20th, with his friends and followers, Parry, Rogers, and Cave. On that day, also, the earl of Bedford, who had only a short time before returned from a visit to the protestant exiles at Zurich, took his seat at the same board. Though many of the privy counsellors of Mary were re-appointed, the principles of the majority of the queen's confidential servants,

* Naunton's *Fragmenta Regalia*.

† Strype, *Ann.* l. 5. Oxford edition, 1824. * The records of the privy council, in the first three years of Elizabeth, are wanting at the Council Office.

who held their sittings at Hatfield *, left no doubt of her policy. Of the doubtful three who were present there, the earl of Pembroke was a perpetual conformist to the religion of the court. Lord Clinton received trusts and honours from Elizabeth, which showed him to be no enemy of her faith; and lord William Howard was retained, in part, perhaps, from the queen's recollection that she was the grand niece of a duke of Norfolk, which seems to have tinged the policy of her earlier years.

The council at Hatfield performed all the duties of a supreme administration. They gave orders to the admirals in the Channel; they despatched instructions to the English plenipotentiaries at Cambray; they thanked the magistrates for staying prosecutions for religion; they released such as were prisoners for that cause. Two of the exiles at Zurich returned so quickly, that no time could have been lost in giving them assurances before their departure of the good reception which they actually experienced.† No reasonable man could, indeed, have doubted that the daughter of Anne Boleyn, the favourite sister of Edward VI., educated by learned and zealous protestants, should prefer the religion of which the adherents respected her legitimate birth, and maintained her royal title, on which their own hopes of safety depended, to followers of the catholic faith, who viewed her as the fruit of an unhallowed union, to whom no other obedience could be due than might have been claimed by Nero.‡

The council at Hatfield issued their orders on Monday the 21st, for the ceremonial of the queen's entrance into London, which was fixed for Wednesday the 23d, and

* Lodge's Illustrations, i. 302. 306.

† Jewel to Peter Martyr, 26th January, 1559. Burnet, book vi. Appendix. The names of these persons were Sands and Horn. Jewel, who was then at Strasburgh, had, before the date of his letter, received from Zurich the account sent from England to that town of the favourable reception of these two men.

‡ "Elisabetta, minor sorella di Maria, che della reina fin a quel tempo erasi tenuta in custodia, per timore humano avea stimolata la religion cattolica, ma con velo così sottile, che agli occhi perspicaci ne trasportava la scoperta eresia. — Pallavic. Hist. di Conc. Trident. lib. xiv. c. 8.

on that day she made her solemn entrance into her capital. At the age of twenty-five years, which she had just passed, it is easy for a queen to be applauded for personal attractions. We are told by a Venetian minister *, that she was then "a lady of great elegance both of mind and body; of a countenance rather pleasing than beautiful; tall and well made; her complexion fine, though rather dark; her eyes beautiful; and, above all, her hands, which she did not conceal." She is described by some as majestic, by others as haughty; but all representations concur in showing that her countenance and port were rather commanding than alluring, yet not without a certain lofty grace which became a ruler. The literary instruction which she had received from Roger Ascham had familiarised her mind, in her sixteenth year, with the two ancient languages which were at that time almost the sole inlets to the treasures of knowledge and the masterpieces of genius. Latin she acquired from the complete perusal of Cicero and Livy, the greatest prose writers of Rome. She compared the philosophical works of Plato with the abridgments of a Grecian philosophy by which Cicero instructed and delighted his fellow citizens; and she would be taught by Ascham how much the orations of Demosthenes, which she read under his eye, surpassed those of the greatest masters of Roman eloquence. She is mentioned by her preceptor as at the head of the lettered ladies of England, excelling even Jane Grey and Margaret Roper.

Within a very few days of her arrival in London, Cecil laid before her his plan for a religious revolution, which was to take from her enemies the power and influence of the establishment, and arm her friends with these formidable weapons. † He advises that the change should neither be attempted before the next parliament, nor delayed after its meeting. He owned that it would be

* "Di faccia più tosto gratiosa che bella; grande e ben formata; di bella carne, ancor che olivastro; belli occhi; e sopra 'l tutto bella mano, de la quale fa professione." — *Michele, in Ellis's Second Series*, li. 216.

† A Device for the Alteration of Religion. Strype, i. Appendix, No. iv.

attended with danger from Rome, perhaps from France and Scotland, certainly from Ireland, as well as from Mary's ministers and favourites, and from the bishops and clergy, who "see in it their ruin." Some zealous protestants, he foresaw, would consider the retention of the most harmless parts of the ancient system as "a cloaked papistry." Against these perils he recommended every effort to make peace with France, which would be followed by peace with Scotland; but if these efforts failed "to augment the hope of those who incline to good religion in both those countries." The agents of Mary were to be dismissed and discouraged; her highness's old and sure servants, who had not shrunk in the late storms, were to be advanced. In Ireland, the evil was to be remedied "by gentle and dulce handling;" accompanied, however, by readiness and boldness in suppressing disorder and revolt. For the particulars of the ecclesiastical reformation, he recommended seven commissioners, who were to be called together by sir Thomas Smith. The noblemen to whom he wished these measures to be communicated before they were opened to the whole, were, the marquess of Northampton, the earls of Bedford and Pembroke, and lord John Grey. The wary statesman advised a proclamation against premature and unauthorised innovations, which was accordingly issued on the 28th of December, allowing the use of the Epistles, Gospels, and Decalogue, together with the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Litany, in the English language; a concession apparently limited, but in truth involving the point in dispute with the see of Rome, inasmuch as it was an assertion of the authority inherent in the state to regulate the established worship. The practice is said to have been permitted before the proclamation.* In the service to be performed before the queen, she was advised to admit no more changes than her conscience absolutely required, until the whole should be reformed by parliamentary authority. Oglethorpe, bishop of Car-

* Hallam, Const. Hist. i. c. 3. The sagacity and accuracy of Mr. Hallam are such, that I consider his assertion, though he quotes no authority, as almost equivalent to testimony.

lisle, was commanded by her, when officiating in her chapel on Christmas-day, 1558, to omit the elevation of the host, as giving occasion to what she deemed idolatry; which that prelate conscientiously refused.* The queen immediately withdrew, with her ladies and courtiers, into her privy chamber, to mark her dissent and displeasure.† All these recent circumstances, combined as they were with the tenour of Elizabeth's former life, were considered as such decisive symptoms of her intention, that the catholic prelates of England honestly refused to take a part in the approaching solemnity of her coronation; except Oglethorpe, who is said to have been haunted by remorse for his compliance during the short remainder of his life.‡ They alleged as the ground of their disobedience, that the queen was manifestly preparing to violate the coronation oath according to the sense in which they understood it. In the course of a pageant, on the day before the coronation, she was presented with an English bible; "at the receipt of which, how reverendlie did she, with both her hands, take it, kiss it, and lay it upon her breast!" § Sir Nicholas Bacon, a lawyer of distinguished learning and integrity, was raised to the rank of lord keeper of the great seal. He and Cecil had married two daughters of sir Anthony Cook, renowned for their learning even in that age of female erudition. His zeal for the reformed religion was as conspicuous as that of Cecil. The peerages usually conferred at the accession of an English monarch announced Elizabeth's determination to favour the cause of reformation. The opposite policy of Mary was intelligibly condemned, by restoring the marquess of Northampton and the earl of Hertford, whose honours had been forfeited in the reign of that princess; while the peerages conferred on Henry Cary, the son of Mary Boleyn, the aunt of Elizabeth, and on Thomas Howard, a more remote relation through Anne Boleyn, proclaimed the honour in which the queen held the

* Stry. i. 73.

† Ellis's Second Series, ii. 96.

‡ Allen's Answer to English Justice asserted. Dod, Ch. Hist. ii. 417.

§ Holinshed, iv. 176.

memory of her mother. St. John, the remaining peer seems, like the others, to have been a protestant.*

Since her accession, every measure of her government was a step towards the reformation, daily cutting off more and more her retreat to the church of Rome, from which every part of her personal conduct evinced her irreclaimable estrangement. She proceeded to its completion without hesitation, and without any other delay than was required by the necessity, in a measure obnoxious to so many acute opponents, of procuring the concurrence of parliament, and of observing all the principles and forms of the constitution.

The particulars of her coronation on the 14th of January, are preserved in Holinshed, for the amusement of those whose languid and somewhat vulgar fancy is delighted by the description of such splendour as the gilder and the embroiderer can furnish. But even this pageantry afforded to Elizabeth—who, though capricious and harsh to individuals, well knew the secret of dealing with a people,—an opportunity of gaining the hearts of her subjects by that union of habitual dignity with general fellow feeling, and seasonable familiarity, which characterises the deportment of those who rule nations with quiet and success.

The parliament met on the 25th of January, 1559; and Cox, one of the English exiles for religion, who was soon afterwards raised to the episcopal dignity, was chosen to preach a sermon on this memorable occasion. Sir Nicholas Bacon opened the session by a grave and wise speech, in which he said that the parliament was called together to make laws for the uniting of the people of the realm in one uniform order of religion; for reforming all mischiefs in civil policy; and to supply the queen's wants. In the performance of their task, he exhorted all the members to avoid sophistical disputations, "meeter for ostentation of wit, than for consultation on weighty matters;" and to banish from

* It appears in Dugdale that all these peerages bear date the 12th and 13th of January, 1559.

their mouths all those opprobrious words which are the utter enemies of concord and unity. He warned them alike to resist idolatry and superstition on the one hand, and, on the other, to avoid a licentiousness which might suffer irreverence, and even irreligion, to creep into the kingdom.* In his allusion to the catholics, the orator perhaps deviated somewhat from his own recommendation. The language in which he alluded to those reformers who began to seek a further reformation than that of Edward VI. is chosen with more tenderness to their feelings, and is more guarded against the risk of offending their zeal.

An act for the recognising and declaring the queen's title was unanimously passed by the lords, and adopted without any apparent opposition by the commons. This statute declares her to be rightly, lineally, and lawfully descended from the blood royal, and pronounces "all sentences and acts of parliament derogatory from this declaration to be void."†

These words imply a confirmation of the marriage of Anne Boleyn; and the latter clause undoubtedly comprehends the divorce for pre-contract, in which Cranmer unhappily performed a blamable part. Why express words declaring the legitimacy of Anne's marriage were not introduced, it is not easy to judge with certainty. This departure from the example of Mary, who obtained an express declaration of the legality of the marriage of Catherine, has been insinuated by some to arise from doubts respecting the success of the like boldness in Elizabeth. But it cannot be doubted that so zealous a protestant parliament would have been ready to do that expressly, which they did by necessary implication. The case of Elizabeth was different from that of Mary. The marriage of Catherine involved only a simple question of law, which parliament had in effect decided by returning to the communion of the see of Rome. The marriage of Anne depended in part upon matters of fact

* D'Ewes's Journal, 14. From a copy of the speech in his possession.

† 1 Edw. c. 3. Statutes of the Realm.

respecting the alleged pre-contract with Henry Piercy, of which, at the distance of thirty-five years, and when all the principal parties had been long dead, it might have been difficult to produce satisfactory evidence.* The investigation must, if successful, have revived the remembrance of Cranmer's criminal weakness, and placed in the most glaring light the cruel impatience of Henry. It was not, probably, thought politic to bring into question the acts of Mary, or to dispel that obscurity respecting the succession, of which the removal would present the queen or Scots to the nation as seated by the side of the throne.

The acts by which the ecclesiastical revolution was accomplished occupied the whole session of parliament, which continued from January to May. The first of these measures consisted in the revival of all the statutes of Henry VIII. against foreign jurisdiction, which, in imitation of that monarch's equivocal language, they called "restoring the ancient jurisdiction of the crown over the state ecclesiastical,"† together with the revival of the protestant statute of Edward respecting the sacrament of the altar. All spiritual jurisdiction was by the same act expressly annexed to the crown, and the sovereign was empowered to exercise it by commissioners appointed under the great seal. All ecclesiastical, and most civil magistrates and officers, were required, under pain of loss of office and deprivation of benefice, with disability to hold either in future, to take an oath "that the queen was the only supreme governor of the realm in spiritual as well as temporal causes" (for Elizabeth forbore to assume the unseemly title of head of the church), "and that no foreign prince or prelate had, or ought to have ‡, any spiritual authority within this

* Henry Piercy, earl of Northumberland, died in 1538. Dugdale, i. 283. Had he been so contracted to Anne as to avoid a subsequent marriage, his own children would have been illegitimate.

† 1 Eliz. c. 1. Stat. of the Realm.

‡ The words "ought to have," if jurisdiction be confined to its only proper sense, that of outward and coercive power, were perhaps the only terms in this oath which were repugnant to the conscience of a true catholic. Even that difficulty has not always been deemed insurmountable.

realm Several clauses of this act deserve commendation as manifestations of a tolerant temper, which, though in themselves imperfect, yet were very extensive compared with the practice of the age. The ancient statutes against Lollardy, revived and executed by Mary, were repealed; and the ecclesiastical commissioners were forbidden to declare any matter to be heresy but such as had been decided to be so either by the Scripture or by any of the first four general councils; a provision which appears to be equivalent to an exemption of Roman Catholics, as such, from the imputation of heresy. On the other hand, the maintenance of foreign authority in this kingdom, by writing, printing, or preaching, was, for the first offence, punished by fine and imprisonment; for the second, by the severe penalties of *præmunire*; and for the third, by death. Nothing can be urged in mitigation of such a clause, considered even as a menace, but the disposition of the consistent adherents of papal supremacy to deny the legitimate birth, and to dispute the civil authority, of the queen. Two temporal peers and nine prelates voted against the third reading of the bill. On its return from the commons, the lay lords withdrew their opposition, but the spiritual lords persevered.* The next act, for re-establishing the Common Prayer Book of Edward VI.†, gave occasion to more serious scruples, and excited a more numerous as well as more firm resistance. The clause which subjected the ministers of the established church to punishment for disobedience, is rather to be blamed as a departure from clemency than as a breach of justice. The severe penalties denounced against all others who libelled the established service, though they would be condemned by all who regard it as impolitic or unjust to punish the excesses of discussion, yet were more probably then blamed, if at all, for extreme laxity and

* 18th and 22d of March, 1559. D'Ewer's Journal. The earl of Shrewsbury and the viscount Montague (the latter had been ambassador at Rome) were the lay peers. Heath, Bonner, Oglethorpe, and the abbot of Westminster, were among the spiritual lords.

† An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer. 1 Eliz. c. 2.

feebleness. This bill passed the house of commons in three days*, with no opposition but that of Mr. Arnold, which, though directed against the penal clauses, was intended to destroy the bill. It was passed by the house of lords on the 28th of April, against the opposition of nine prelates and nine temporal peers.† Among the latter we find not only the names of Shrewsbury and Montacute, the usual opponents of this session, but those also of the marquess of Winchester, of the lords Morley, Stafford, Dudley, Wharton, Rich, and North. The Journals of the house of lords, from the 22d of April to the 1st of May, not being printed, nor perhaps extant, we cannot determine the proportion which this minority bore to the whole number of the house. But as the lords present on both the days just mentioned were about eighty-five, and the same number ordinarily attended after that time, there appears no sufficient reason for doubting that the bill was carried by a majority of nearly four to one.‡ The convocation had, at their first meeting, protested against the impending innovations, and conveyed their dissent through the unwelcome hand of Bonner. A disputation was in consequence appointed to be holden in Westminster Abbey, on the 31st of March, between catholic and protestant divines. It was agreeable to the principles, though not to the practice, of the latter to enter on such a conference with the possibility of advantage; since they exercised the right of free enquiry, and might therefore be convinced by arguments of adequate force. But the Roman catholic divines, who deemed themselves concluded by the decisions of an unerring church, with whatever ability they might vindicate their doctrines, could not profess any openness to conviction. It was consistent with their system to disapprove such disputes. The conference, in which lord keeper Bacon presided, was productive as usual of increased irritation, and the

* Commons' Journals, 18th to 20th April, 1559.

† D'Ewes, 30.

‡ Dr. Lingard and Mr. Ellis have told us that the bill passed by a majority of only three. But neither quotes authority.

boasts of victory were equally loud on both sides. The catholic prelates remarked on the unseemliness of placing Bacon, a layman, in the chair, to moderate a religious debate. It was very angrily conducted, and the bishops of Winchester and Lincoln were committed to the Tower for threatening to excommunicate the queen.*

Some documents purporting to be the speeches of the minority in parliament in these important debates are preserved. But they are considered as spurious or doubtful by the ecclesiastical historians of both parties.† Those ascribed to archbishop Heath, bishop Scott, and Feckenham, abbot of Westminster, are summaries of the controversy on the catholic side, and are not properly within the province of the civil historian. The speech of lord Montague is more ingenious and seasonable; objecting to the severe penalties, and urging the ordinary arguments from the antiquity and universality of the catholic church only as presumptions of the uncertainty of protestantism, and as aggravations of the injustice of severely punishing adherents to a faith maintained for so many ages by their fathers.

The true hinge of the dispute was not touched by either party. The question was, whether the legislature had a right to alter the established and endowed religion, on condition of respecting the estates for life vested by law in certain ecclesiastics. The protestants as well as the catholics converted the debate into a theological discussion, because they justified their measures by the truth of their own religious opinions. No one then saw that the legislature could not, without usurping authority over conscience, consider religion otherwise than as it affected the outward interests of society; which alone were entrusted to their care, and submitted to their rule. Every other view of the subject, however arising from a wish to exalt religion, must in truth tend to degrade and enslave her.

Of the only two important deviations in the new Book of Common Prayer from the liturgy of Edward VI.,

* Collier, ii. 431. Strype, Ann. i. 133. † Strype, i. 107. Dod, ii. 4.

the first, consisting in the omission of a prayer to be delivered from the "tyranny of the bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities," manifested a conciliatory temper towards the Roman church; and the second, instead of the Zwinglian language, which spoke of the sacrament as being only a remembrance of the death of Christ, substituted words indicating some sort of real presence: ~~of~~ a body, though not affirming the presence to be corporeal; coinciding with the phraseology of Calvin, which, if any meaning can be ascribed to the terms, might, it sh^d seem, be used by catholics, not indeed as adequately conveying their doctrine, but as containing nothing inconsistent with it.*

The queen also scrupled about the abolition of the honours shown to the statues and pictures of holy men. She harboured prejudices favourable to the superior sanctity of a single life, which withheld her from approving the marriage of the clergy. She was indulgent to the affectionate practice of praying for the souls of the departed, which a simple piety seems very early to have suggested to the ancient Christians.

At midsummer, 1559, the protestant liturgy was introduced, and the oath of supremacy administered. Fifteen bishops refused the oath; being all the prelates then alive, except Kitchen of Llandaff, who did not shrink from the completion of that time-serving course, of which others of his brethren were at length ashamed. Their example was followed by seventy-seven dignitaries, and fifteen heads of colleges; but, out of the numerous body of parochial clergy, only by eighty rectors†; a singular proportion, clearly marking the great power of honour and shame in a case where conspicuous per-

* (At the delivery of the bread.)

King Edward's Prayer Book.

"Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart with faith."

Queen Elizabeth's Prayer Book.

"The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, who was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul."

† Strype, Ann. i. 106. Dod only names about 150: if we deduct the abbots and monks, whose leaving their monasteries was not voluntary, and could not have been avoided by taking the oath, the difference will be trifling.—*Dod*, ii. 318.

sons remained faithful, while the obscure majority consulted their interest. The pliancy was by no means so considerable as under Henry and Edward; partly because the progress was then gradual, partly because the clergy were engaged in the first steps of it almost by surprise, and in no small degree from the terrors of Henry's sanguinary government. It is remarkable that so small a loss should have occasioned so great a deficiency in the means of religious instruction, as that which protestant writers deplore. The necessity of one minister serving several churches, however, is almost confined by Strype to London, where the conformity of known catholics was more disgraceful.* Laymen were appointed, he tells us, to read the service in the churches which were left destitute.

The university of Oxford (we have little information at that time concerning Cambridge) displayed a steadiness, venerable, if it proceeded from conscience; respectable, if it had no higher source than a regard to character;—on either supposition, natural in stations of eminence and influence; which was the first instance, and perhaps one of the fountains, of their zealous attachment to ancient institutions. A small deduction from the number of fellows of colleges, on whom the education of the learned classes chiefly devolved, must have caused a great chasm in clerical and literary instruction. Bishop Jewel complained that there were not two in Oxford of the reformed opinions.† It is not to be forgotten, that many catholic priests at first conformed; that means were found to exempt others from the oath, and to convert their benefices into sinecures.‡ The expulsions were not all enforced in the beginning§; and before the year 1564, we are told by

* Strype, i. 203.

† Dod, ii. 8. The complaint of archbishop Parker, that there were not two men in Cambridge able and willing to read theological lectures, is reduced in value by the fact that it occurred in 1568, and by the circumstance that it was written to obtain for the university pecuniary liberalities from the queen.—*Collier*, ii. 527.

‡ Dod, *ut supra*.

§ Tam anno isto (1560) quam proximo sequentibus exturbati sunt bene multi. *Ant. Oxon.*

Styke* that the chasm was almost filled up. If allowance be made for exaggeration in language, perhaps the protestant account of numbers, which is not opposed by any distinct enumeration on the side of the vanquished party, is not greatly defective, and may be nearly reconciled to the loud complaints of destitute churches, by the strong impression which the minds of men had received from the striking examples of the capital and the chief seminary of education. Even cardinal Allen, in his "Answer to the Defence of the Justice of Elizabeth," makes the whole number, exclusive of Ireland, to be only 229; an estimate which falls very short of the whole number of the parochial clergy who occupied the thousand parishes of England and Wales.

According to the standard of that age, the treatment of the deprived bishops was remarkable for mildness. The imprisonment of Bonner, whose odious character gave some colour to the reason alleged by a few partisans* of the government, that his confinement was necessary to shelter him from popular violence, can hardly be regarded as an exception. Elizabeth, who had received the other bishops at her first audience with due courtesy, turned from Bonner as from a man of blood; and on his death, in 1569, the bishop of London caused him to be interred by night, to protect his remains from the fury of the populace.† The respectable Heath passed the remainder of his life at his own house in Surrey, where he was frequently visited by the queen. The venerable Tunstall, together with Thirlby, a statesman rather than a prelate, was placed in a state of lenient ward at Lambeth palace. Scott, Pate, and Goldwell retired beyond sea, not without the connivance of the ministers. White and Watson had threatened to excommunicate the queen. The former was, however, released, after acknowledging his fault; and at his death, which occurred in 1559, he was publicly and solemnly interred in his late cathedral of Winchester. Watson, though unpopular as a "sour and morose

* Styke, i. 203.

† Grindall's letter of September, 1569. Ellis. ii. 252.

man," lived for twenty years with the bishops of Rochester and Ely ; but was, in 1580, in consequence of a charge of conspiracy, confined in Wisbeach castle, where he died two years after. *

To fill the seats of the deceased and deprived bishops became one of the most serious cares of the new government. Cecil and Bacon, the principal ministers, turned their immediate attention to the vacant primacy, at that crisis the most important station in the kingdom. Their choice was, even before the coronation, fixed on Matthew Parker, a man of worth and learning, who, though a married clergyman, was endeared to Elizabeth by having been the chaplain of her mother, who with her dying breath commended to his pious care the religious nurture of her infant daughter. He was for some time confined to the country by a quartan ague, — a distemper then often fatal. A great part of the next year was employed in conquering the repugnance of this humble and disinterested man to the highest dignity in the reformed churches.

When Cecil and Bacon had finally succeeded in overcoming his scruples, the consecration was delayed for some time, in order to take such precautions as might best secure its validity from being impugned.† The church of England then adopted, and has not yet renounced, the inconsistent and absurd opinion, that the church of Rome, though idolatrous, is the only channel through which all lawful power of ordaining priests, of consecrating bishops, or validly performing any religious rite, flowed from Christ, through a succession of prelates, down to the latest age of the world. The ministers, therefore, first endeavoured to obtain the concurrence of the catholic bishops in the consecration ; which those prelates, who must have considered such an act as a profanation, conscientiously refused.

f * Dod, i. 485. Strype, i. 214.

† It is needless to discuss the ridiculous story of a consecration of the new prelates at the Nag's Head tavern ; which has been judiciously abandoned by Dr. Lingard, the most eminent of our Roman catholic historians.

They were at length obliged to issue a new commission for consecrating Parker, directed to Kitchen of Llandaff, to Ball, an Irish bishop, to Barlow, Scory, and Coverdale, deprived in the reign of Mary, and to two suffragans.* Whoever considers it important at present to examine this list, will perceive the perplexities in which the English church was involved by a zeal to preserve unbroken the chain of episcopal succession. On account of this frivolous advantage, that church was led to prefer the common enemy of all reformation to those protestant communions which had boldly snapped asunder that brittle chain: a striking example of the evil that sometimes arises from the inconsistent respect paid by reformers to ancient establishments.

Parker, who had been elected on the 1st of August, was finally consecrated on the 17th of December.† Four new bishops were consecrated three days after the primate; whose preferment, as they had been exiles for religion in the time of Mary, was a strong and irrevocable pledge of the queen's early determination to stand or fall with the reformed faith. This politic, as well as generous, elevation of faithful adherents and patient sufferers did not prevent the wise ministers from a general choice which none of their antagonists ventured to impugn. For some time many of the Roman catholics, unskilled, in theological disputes, continued to frequent their parish churches, regardless of the differences which were to steep Europe in blood.‡

This uninquiring conformity appears not immediately to have yielded to the condemnation of it pronounced by the divines at Trent. The Anglican reformation was completed by the publication of the articles of religion, exhibiting the creed of that establishment, which, upon the whole, deserves commendation, in the only points where the authors could exercise any discretion; for treating the ancient church

* A suffragan is one who executes the office of a bishop, but who hath not the title. — *Ed. Phillips's World of Words*. 4th ed. 1678.

† Strype's Parker, b. ii. c. i. Burnet.

‡ Collier, ii. 436.

with considerable approaches to decency, and for preferring quiet, piety, and benevolence to precision and consistency : not pressing those doctrines to their utmost logical consequences, which, by such a mode of inference, lead only to hatred, to blood, and often to a corruption of moral principle.

A translation of the Scripture was published by authority, which, after passing through several emendations, became, in the succeeding reign, the basis of our present version. This was the work of translators not deeply versed in the opinions, languages, manners, and institutions of the ancient world, who were born before the existence of eastern learning in Europe, and whose education was completed before the mines of criticism had been opened, either as applied to the events of history, or to the reading, interpretation, and genuineness of ancient writings. On these accounts, as well as on account of the complete superannuation of some parts of its vocabulary, it undoubtedly requires revision and emendation. Such a task, however, should only be entrusted to hands skilful and tender in the case of a translation, which, to say nothing of the connection of its phraseology with the religious sensibilities of a people, forms the richest storehouse of the native beauties of our ancient tongue ; and by frequent yet reverential perusal has more than any other cause contributed to the permanency of our language, and thereby to the unity of our literature. In waving the higher considerations of various kinds which render caution, in such a case, indispensable, it is hard to overvalue the literary importance of daily infusions from the "well of English undefiled" into our familiar converse. Nor should it be forgotten, if ever the revision be undertaken, that we derive an advantage, not to be hazarded for tasteless novelties, from a perfect model of a translation of works of the most remote antiquity, into that somewhat antique English, venerable without being obscure, which alone can faithfully represent their spirit and genius.

While Elizabeth continued to consolidate her throne.

on the basis of the protestant religion, which her enemies as well as her friends taught her to contemplate as the only secure foundation of her title and government, the opposition of innovation to establishment, sometimes traversed by personal interests and temporary incidents, sometimes blended with the more shifting objects of policy, was hastening to become the mainspring of the wars and revolutions of Europe. Some of the steps towards a general war of opinion have been traced in the conclusion of the preceding volume. Some of the political causes which gave an ascendant for a short time to a transient and narrow policy have also been there observed. The most considerable of them was the marriage of Mary Stuart to the dauphin. At the death of Mary Tudor, the queen dauphiness assumed the arms and regal title of England, to which she was indeed the heir in the eyes of all who deemed Elizabeth illegitimate, and considered the parliament as not having the power to invade the sacred order of succession. Mary and her husband even executed a grant of land to lord Fleming, by their style as king and queen of England as well as of Scotland.* These acts could not be regarded as the mere assumption of barren titles, since they never were practised during the reign of Mary, or even of Edward. The claims of a Roman catholic pretender, wedded to the heir apparent of such a monarchy as France, — while Scotland was divided between the contending communions, while Ireland was altogether catholic, and while catholics predominated in the northern provinces of England, — were in the highest degree formidable to the protestant succession in England, and seemed to threaten an instant overthrow of Elizabeth's tottering throne. The princes of the house of Lorraine established in France, — a race remarkable for capacity, valour, and daring ambition, — became the masters of that monarchy at the death of Henry II., who was mortally wounded in a tournament in July, 1559, shortly after having issued an edict inflicting

* As early as January, 1559. — *Cecil's Diary*, Murdin, 747.

the punishment of death on all protestants, and enjoining judges not to commute the penalty.* In the minority of Francis II., their sway was established through the ascendant of their niece, Mary Stuart, over the imbecile boy to whom that beautiful and accomplished princess, distinguished even then for vigour and ability, was so unhappily, and, in spite of the outward splendour of the union, so unsuitably tied. These princes, who countenanced the legends which deduced their descent from Charlemagne, certainly regarded the sovereignty of the British islands as being within Mary's lawful pretensions, of which the enforcement was not beyond the grasp of their own almost boundless aspirations.

It has been already seen that Philip II., a bigot of equal sincerity, sternness, and sagacity, preserved Elizabeth from the merciless purposes of her sister, in order to be a restraint on the vaulting ambition of the house of Lorraine. When he saw the pretensions to the English throne, which the French princes now made for their niece, he suspended every purpose of religious hatred, and of his permanent policy, in order to provide against an aggrandisement which menaced his own dominions. The count de Feria†, the Spanish ambassador in London, received his master's orders to make propositions of marriage to Elizabeth as soon as she succeeded to the throne. Though this fact be attested by all writers, the particulars are mentioned by none, and do not seem to be preserved in our public repositories. Philip is said to have pressed his suit with some importunity, and to have assured the queen that he could obtain a papal dispensation for the marriage, which would at least silence her catholic subjects. She, wary from her early youth, answered the advances of so potent a monarch with all due courtesy. She intimated the difficulty, which she doubtless strongly felt, of tacitly owning her illegitimacy, by accepting a papal dispensation to become the wife of her brother-in-law. Her repugnance to the marriage, as she afterwards de-

* Henault.

† Created a duke in 1567. Moreri.

clared to Castelnau, was so strong, as to prevail over her gratitude to Philip, who had saved her from her sister's rage, at a moment when Elizabeth's destruction seemed so certain, that she had determined on asking no other favour than that her head should be struck off by a sword, as her mother's was, instead of an axe.* She, says Camden, with a mind most averse from such nuptials, thought nothing so likely to deliver her from the eager pursuit of her importunate lover, as the immediate adoption of decisive measures for the establishment of the reformed church.†

The various motives which withheld her from the proffered marriage were too obvious to have escaped a prince so discerning as Philip. Perhaps we may be allowed to conjecture, with some probability, that his expectations of retaining England by wedlock were slight, but that he relied on the friendly dispositions with which the young queen would be inspired by his affectation of gallantry towards her. At all events, the suit was soon relinquished; for the count de Feria declined to appear at the coronation; and the unhappy espousal of Elizabeth of France to Philip was one of the stipulations of the treaty of Château-Cambresis.

The relations of Elizabeth, at her accession, with the court of Rome, formed an object which required to be handled with no small delicacy. Sir Edward Carne, of South Wales, an eminent canonist, had represented the English government at Rome during all the periods of friendly intercourse, from the negotiations about the divorce of Henry VIII. to the death of Mary. Elizabeth instructed him to announce her accession to the sovereign pontiff, and to assure him of her determination to offer no violence to the conscience of any class of her subjects; thus at once con-

* *Mém. de Castelnau*, liv. ii. ch. 3.

† *Illa, animo ab hujusmodi nuptiis aversissimo, nihil ad importunum proci amollendum efficacius censuit quam ut religio quam primum mutaretur.* — *Camd. Ann. Eliz.* ed. Hearne. The version in Kennet, which omits all the strong expressions of Camden, is a remarkable instance of the effect of a languid translation in hiding the feelings of the principal persons, which are here the most important facts in the narrative.

veying her desire of amity, her tolerant policy, and her unshaken protestantism. Caraffa, a noble Venetian, who then filled the papal throne by the name of Paul IV., made answer with a haughtiness unquenched on his death-bed, and with the marble inflexibility of fourscore, "that England was a fief of the apostolic see; that she could not succeed, being illegitimate; that the reigning pontiff could not reverse the decrees of his predecessor against the marriage; but that, notwithstanding her boldness in presuming to wear the crown without his previous assent, being yet desirous to show a fatherly affection towards an illustrious nation, and to a lady of high though not unstained lineage, if she would renounce her pretensions, and refer herself wholly to his generosity, he should be disposed to do for her whatever could be done consistently with the honour of the apostolic see."* To this arrogant answer many historians have ascribed the separation of England. But cardinal Pallavicino, though he blames the obstinate folly of the pontiff, which thus rejected every chance of reconciling England, adds, with his accustomed sagacity, that the mildness of Elizabeth's language was only an opiate used to lull the pontiff to sleep, till her power should be secured; but that she would quickly throw off the mask, and act with the zeal of an obstinate heretic, who was herself declared to be a bastard, and whose mother was pronounced to be a prostitute by the doctrines and authorities of the catholic church.† The advances of Elizabeth did not deceive the Roman court. ‡ Elizabeth commanded her minister to return; the pope prohibited him from leaving Rome under pain of excommunication, and offered him a provision as master of the English hospital. Carne, in his despatches to London, protested against his detention, and solemnly declared that he would rather beg his bread homeward than seem to disobey his sovereign's command. It was, neverthe-

* *Fra Paolo*, lib. v.

† *Pallavicino*, lib. xiv. c. 8. The orthography seems to have been either with a termination in *r* or in *o* indifferently.

‡ "Nec sefellerint hæc pontificem Romanum." — *Camd. Ann.*

less, suspected that the veteran diplomatist, actuated by deep-rooted attachment to the ancient faith, had voluntarily procured the exile of which he affected to complain.* He died at Rome in 1561, no otherwise worthy of historical notice, than as the last of a long succession of ministers who had for 800 years maintained the ecclesiastical and pontifical intercourse between England and the see of Rome: for the brief and abortive effort to revive it in the following century cannot be regarded as a substantial exception.

When Caraffa found Elizabeth inaccessible to his menaces, he issued a bull, in which he did not name her, but confirmed the excommunication and the other punishments provided against all heretics, whether they be subjects or sovereigns; and deprived heretical sovereigns of their dominions, inflicting upon them an incapacity to be restored by any authority; and excluded them all, comprehending in the exclusion persons of regal and imperial dignity, from every solace of human intercourse and society.† Caraffa died a few months afterwards, loaded with the curses of the Romans: his statue was thrown into the Tiber, and his remains were with difficulty saved from the fury of the raging populace. Had the accession of Elizabeth been somewhat later, the reception of her advances by Paul's successor, Pius IV., a prince of the house of Medici, would have been more courteous, and might perhaps have preserved to the Roman court the possibility of advantage, which depended on the continuance of an amicable correspondence with England. For in May, 1560, the pope despatched Parpaglia, abbot of St. Saviour, to the queen, with letters full of respect and affection, imploring her to return to the communion of the church, and assuring her of his readiness to contribute to the happiness of her soul and

* "Creditor tamen solertem senem hoc exilium ex inflammato Romanæ religionis studio sponte elegisse." — *Camd. Ann.*

† This bull, hitherto only vaguely alluded to by historians, is in the *Bullarium Romanum*, i. 840. editio Lucem. 1727. 15th March, 1559. It was confirmed by Pius V., in a bull which subjects all dignities, including the royal, to the tribunals of inquisition. *Bullar. Roman.* ii. 214. This last bull expressly names the bull of Paul IV. (Caraffa). It bears date on the 12th January, 1567. — See afterward the bull of February, 1569.

the establishment of her royal dignity. He is even said to have verbally instructed Parpaglia to promise that, if she would return to the bosom of the catholic church, and submit to the parental authority of the apostolic see, his holiness would declare the validity of her mother's marriage, permit the use of the English liturgy, and allow the sacrament in both kinds to the laity.* Parpaglia was not, however, allowed to enter England. Pius IV., not altogether despairing, renewed his efforts in the succeeding year. Martinengo, an Italian abbot, in April, 1561, announced from Brussels to the English ministers, that he was desirous of proceeding to London on the part of the most holy father, to represent to the queen the earnest wishes of his holiness to reconcile her and her subjects to the rest of Christendom; and to entreat her, for that end, to send her prelates to the general council about to be holden in the city of Trent. A privy council was assembled at Greenwich, on the 1st of May, 1561, to consider this momentous proposition. It was there determined that it was impossible "to allow the pope's jurisdiction within this realm to any purpose," without shaking the queen's title to the throne, which was evidently irreconcilable with the decrees of the Roman pontiff; that the appearance of a nuncio in London would countenance the false reports of the queen's intention to change her religion, and thereby encourage the audacity of the disaffected, as well as render faithful subjects fearful of manifesting their affection; that, besides the highest motive of religion, it was inconsistent with common prudence to run the least hazard of a new religious revolution, at the very moment that the country was beginning to recover from the last; that the legate then in Ireland was active in stirring up revolt; that Parpaglia was in the former year charged with the task of exciting a rebellion in England; and that a general council, though if really independent it would be most acceptable in England, must, in the present circum-

* Camden, i. 73.

stances, be regarded as a papal lure.* Had the Roman government been disposed, at the accession, to grant all that they are supposed to have authorised Pargaglia to offer, Elizabeth might perhaps have purchased a truce with a formidable antagonist, by concessions to the English catholics far beyond the usage of that period.†

- But the time for such negotiations was now past: the council advised that Martinengo should not be allowed to enter the kingdom. The queen's policy consisted in showing that steady countenance to her opponents which alone could secure the fidelity of adherents. The history of the dealing of the Roman see with the Lutheran reformation is crowded with such lessons to all who bear sway over nations in seasons of trouble and peril. The grant of the cup to the laity, the use of the vulgar tongue in worship and instruction, even the celibacy of the clergy, were generally owned to concern matters of discipline only, where concessions might be made without derogation from the unerring judgment of the catholic church. But the pretension to infallibility had not only perverted the understanding, but corrupted and inflamed the temper of the papal counselors. Its influence extended beyond its argumentative consequences: it begat a haughty spirit, a stubborn pride, an undistinguishing defiance of all attempts to conciliate, in cases where they might have yielded without inconsistency. The effect of this was, that the British islands were completely separated from the Roman communion, and France nearly so; to say nothing of the degree in which the ancient faith throughout Christendom was undermined. ‡

* Hardwicke Papers, i. 180.

† This could only be, if all the terms which Pargaglia was supposed to have the power of granting, except the recognition of Anne Boleyn's marriage, be understood as confined to the English catholics only.

‡ All attempts have proved unsuccessful to recover either the count de Feria's propositions of marriage, or Carne's despatches, containing the account of Caraffa's answer to Elizabeth. But the numerous allusions to the former in the letters of the chief actors in these scenes leave no doubt of the fact. The truth of the latter may be considered as established by the consideration, that though it rests much on the testimony of father Paul, it is not contradicted, but rather tacitly assumed, by his acrimonious opponent, cardinal Pallavicino, who wrote from the Roman records, and might have known those who were of full age at the accession of Elizabeth.

The final breach between Elizabeth and Rome probably contributed to the sudden cessation of Philip's efforts to obtain her hand. Her marriage continued to be a subject of the deepest interest, not only to her own people, but to all zealous and reflecting catholics and protestants throughout Europe. Philip, after his own failure, laboured to obtain the hand of Elizabeth for his cousin the archduke Charles. Her encouragement of this union was ascribed by continental politicians to her hope that an alliance between England and Austrian Germany might in some degree curb the ambition and counterpoise the power of the two great crowns of France and Spain.* The protestants were suspicious of its tendency to introduce a popish influence into England, while the court of Rome dreaded that the heretical queen might lessen the union of catholic sovereigns. The negotiation was renewed, partly perhaps to parry the importunity of parliament for the queen's marriage, from 1563 to 1565 †; and, on the latter occasion, it was promoted by Leicester, with a zeal which indicates the extinction of the ambitious hopes ascribed to him.‡ Elizabeth refused to allow the public exercise of any religion but the protestant in her dominions; a matter which, from the long continuance of the negotiation, appears to have been deemed not incapable of compromise. The apprehension of the success of the negotiation procured for Elizabeth a suitor of fourteen years of age in the person of the duke of Anjou, who afterwards ruled France under the name of Henry III.; a prince whose brutal amours and acquiescence in cruelty do not appear to have been relieved by a solitary virtue. Castelnau visited Britain in 1566, to tender for the queen's choice either him or his brother Charles IX.; two marriages so seductive, but so execrable, that it would be hard to find a parallel for them in history. §

In the matrimonial negotiations with the royal family

* Throgmorton to privy council. Paris, 10th June, 1559. Forbes, i. 120. Id. to Cecil, 18th November, 1569. Forbes, i. 285.

† Haynes, 407. 419. 436. in Cecil's letters to Mundt, a secret agent in Germany.

‡ Ellis, second series, ii. 206.

§ Mém. de Castelnau, liv. v. ch. 11, 12.

of France, there are clearer traces of intention on either side to amuse and deceive for temporary purposes, than can be discovered in other treaties of the like nature. Castelnau, for example, offered the duke of Anjou to Mary Stuart, as he had done before to Elizabeth. But the Austrian marriage, on the contrary, was so acceptable, that lord Sussex, the ambassador at Vienna in 1567, was not only very desirous of the alliance, but considered it as practicable. In his despatch to Elizabeth, he skillfully tries to soften the heart of his mistress, by displaying the qualities of Charles's mind, and still more fully the beauties of his countenance and form. He told the archduke that the queen was free to marry, though she had never given a "grateful ear" to any motion of marriage but to this. The archduke answered, that but for this assurance, he had heard so much of the queen's not meaning to marry as might give him cause to suspect the proposal. Sussex, fearing religion to be the obstacle, ventured to insinuate that, his imperial majesty being believed secretly to favour the Lutherans, the archduke, by communicating the secret now to him, might bring the negotiation within a short compass. The archduke, without contradicting the prevalent opinion of his father's religious inclination, asked Sussex whether he could advise an Austrian prince suddenly to change a religion which his ancestors had so long holden. Sussex told Elizabeth, that as reputation ruled Charles under the guise of the catholic religion, there was no doubt that, notwithstanding the obstacle of his profession, he would prove "a true husband, a loving companion, a wise counsellor, and a faithful servant." *

Eric king of Sweden, the son of Gustavus Vasa, sought the hand of both the British queens: his suit in England continued for two years. John duke of Finland, his brother, was welcomed at court in 1559; and in 1561 preparations were made for his own honourable reception; but both the princesses had the fortune to escape a sanguinary tyrant, the degenerate offspring of

* Sussex to the queen, Vienna, 18th and 26th Oct. 1567. Lodge, i. 364. 368.

the deliverer and reformer of his country. The national jealousy which has generally subsisted between Sweden and Denmark excited Adolphus duke of Holstein to proffer his hand to Elizabeth, who received him becomingly, but declined the connection; accounting him to be sufficiently honoured by the order of the garter, and likely to be sufficiently consoled by an ample pension.*

The root of that indisposition to marriage which is apparent through Elizabeth's life, is probably best understood from her significant declaration to the earl of Leicester, during the period of his highest favour,—“*I will have here but one mistress, and no master.*”† On another occasion, Melville, who understood her character, when she declared her dislike of marriage to be such as nothing but policy could overcome, answered, “Madam, you need not tell me that: I know your stately stomach; you cannot suffer a commander: you think if you were married, you would be but queen of England, and now you are king and queen both.”‡

From the earliest moment she professed her preference of celibacy, though, with characteristic caution, she avoided, or rather disclaimed, an absolute renunciation of marriage. In answer to the first address of the house of commons, she said, “From my years of understanding, I happily chose this kind of life in which I now live; yet I shall never in that matter conclude any thing that shall be prejudicial to the realm. This shall be for me sufficient, that a marble stone shall declare that a queen, having reigned such a time, lived and died a virgin.”§ In 1563 she declared, “If any think I never meant to try a wedded life, they are deceived: I may hereafter bend my mind thereunto, the rather for your request.”

In 1566 she was very earnestly entreated, in a joint address from both houses of parliament, to enter into a state of wedlock, and to settle the order of the succession to the crown. The cause of this unusual address was probably the extremely disturbed state of the affairs of Scot-

* Camd. Ann. i. 69.

† Naunton's Fragm. Regal.

‡ Melville, 122, relating his mission to England in 1564.

§ D'Ewes, 47.

land, which in the year of the sitting of this parliament was the scene of the murder of Rizzio by Darnley, and of the murder of Darnley by Bothwell; both deeply affecting the presumptive heiress of the crown of England.* Opinions in England on the succession were divided, and inclinations violently opposed to each other. Mary was the hope of the catholics, the terror of the protestants; but acknowledged to be heiress by all the rigorous adherents to hereditary succession. Some preferred lady Lennox, as a natural-born Englishwoman, who was a daughter of Margaret Tudor. Another party maintained the right of lady Catherine Grey, countess of Hertford, for the same reasons which had seated her unfortunate sister lady Jane on a momentary throne.† The new influence which the birth of a son had bestowed on Mary, and the remembrance of the danger from her usurpation at the queen's accession, were additional incitements to the petition. "Our first prayer is, that it may please your majesty to dispose yourself to marry. The second, that limitation may be made of this imperial crown, how it should descend, if God call your highness without heirs of your body to guard the realm against factions, seditions, and intestine war." They fortified their petition by referring to many instances, both ancient and modern, in which the sovereigns of England had entered into marriage by the advice and consent of parliament.‡ The queen again said, "If any one here suspect that I have made a vow or determination against that kind of life, he is wrong; for though I may think it [celibacy] best for a private woman, yet I strive with myself to think it unmeet for a prince."§ But the commons, being more zealous protestants, were not satisfied by this language, which, though veiled by an affectation of prudery, was intelligible; and Elizabeth, on the 4th of November, was obliged to allay their apprehensions by instructing her ministers, Cecil and Rogers, to signify to the house

* The session was opened on the 30th of September, 1566, and the parliament was dissolved on the 2d of January, 1567. Journals and D'Ewes, 93.

† D'Ewes, 104.

‡ D'Ewes, 117.

§ D'Ewes, 107.

of commons, "that she, by God's grace; would marry; but that the perils to the person of a sovereign from the nomination of a successor, of which she had seen a specimen in her sister's reign, though the successor was then only expected, not nominated, were so great that the time would not allow it now to be fully treated of."

A subsidy, consisting of a tenth and a fifteenth of all personal estate, measured according to the ancient usages, and made payable in two instalments, was granted by this parliament, in consideration, as the preamble alleges, of her having forborne to make such demands of money on her people as her needs required, "of the comfortable assurances that her majesty would marry, and that she would fix a successor as soon as the safety of her person would allow."* We must here anticipate so far as to observe, that in the next parliament, which met in 1571, sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper, reminded the parliament that of the late subsidy the queen's majesty, from her own bountifulness, had remitted the one half — was the like here in England ever seen or heard of?† It was on this occasion that one of her memorable sayings came forth, that the money was better in the pockets of her people than in her coffers.‡ The remission of this subsidy, however, may be rather ascribed to a just reliance on her people, and to an equitable regard to the motive of the commons for the grant, than to principles of political economy, of which the prevalence could not have then been foreseen without the gift of prophecy.

We have seen that she made too strong a declaration in favour of marriage, in order to cover her refusal to nominate a successor. A person of less sagacity might easily see the policy of keeping contending claims to the crown suspended and dependent upon her, and the danger of offending one party by a nomination which might encourage the opposite faction to anticipate the allegiance to which it would by such a choice be declared that their favourite candidate would one day be entitled. An in-

* 8 Eliz. c. 18.

† D'Ewes, 138.

‡ Camden.

cident occurred, almost immediately after her accession, which cruelly exemplified, in the person of the sister of lady Jane Grey, the sternness of those political maxims which the queen was little disposed to relax, in cases relating to the royal family, and which might affect the descent of the crown. The sovereigns of England had in all ages claimed, and have not yet renounced, an unreasonable latitude in that part of their prerogative which consists in superintending the conduct, and more especially in controlling the marriages, of the princes and princesses of the royal blood. Lady Catherine Grey, the descendant of Henry VII. by his second daughter, the queen-dowager of France, was undoubtedly the first princess of the blood, with the illustrious exception of the queen of Scots. Her marriage was not unjustly deemed to concern the order of succession. It was maintained, with much appearance of reason, that the queen's consent was necessary to an union which might otherwise render the succession doubtful, distract the kingdom, and overthrow her throne. Princely rank was dearly purchased by this young lady. She had been wedded, or rather affianced, to lord Herbert when she had scarcely ceased to be a child, at the period of her admirable sister's nuptials with Dudley. But the earl of Pembroke, the most noted weathercock of a variable age, who was said to have "got, spent, and left more than any subject since the Norman conquest *," as soon as he veered round to Mary Tudor, which was when the first ray of fortune shone on her, immediately caused his son to repudiate the espoused lady, and secured a lasting separation from the child of misfortune, by wedding him to Margaret Talbot, daughter of the earl of Shrewsbury. Lady Catherine Grey resided in attendance upon the queen, where she contracted a passion for the earl of Hertford, the son of the protector Somerset, in spite of the deadly feud between their fathers.† They were secretly married while Elizabeth was on a hunting party. On her acknowledging, in August, 1560, that she was preg-

* Naunton's *Fragm. Regal.*

† Ellis, second series, ii. 272.

nant, she was committed to the Tower. Hertford, on his return from his travels, was sent to the same prison. Archbishop Parker, bishop Grindal, and sir William Petre, were named commissioners to enquire into these matters. Witnesses of the marriage not being produced in time, it was pronounced to be null, and the imprisonment of both parties was continued during the queen's pleasure. But the popular feelings were unfavourable to this odious policy; and, Hertford easily eluding the watchfulness of the gaolers, a second pregnancy heightened the displeasure of the queen. Hertford was fined 15,000*l.* in the star-chamber, for the threefold offence of deflowering a virgin of the royal blood, of repeating that outrage after sentence of nullity, and of breaking prison. The ravages of the plague, in 1563, which, in the little London of that time, swept away 1000 persons a week, produced some relaxation of severity to lord and lady Hertford. The latter was allowed to reside at the country-seat of her uncle lord John Grey.* In 1565, both were re-committed to the Tower. The rigour of their treatment was partly occasioned by the indiscretion of John Hales, who, in April, 1564, published a book in support of the rights of the house of Suffolk, and of the validity of lady Hertford's marriage; for which he was imprisoned, to prevent the appearance of encouraging attacks on the title of the queen of Scots. Lady Catherine died, with calmness and piety, on the 27th of January, 1567, after a confinement of more than six years. She besought those around her to solicit from Elizabeth forgiveness of her acts of disobedience, and protection of her three infant sons. She desired her wedding-ring to be delivered to her husband, together with another ring on which was painted a death's head, with these words around it,—“While I live, yours.” Perceiving her nails to look purple, she said, “Lo, here he is! — and putting down her eyes with her own hands, she yielded unto God her meek spirit.”† Nearly half a century afterwards, her

* Haynes, 414

† Ellis, *ut supra*, ii. 299.

memory was relieved from imputation by the verdict of a jury, which by necessary inference established the validity of her marriage.*

The importance of matrimonial propositions to Elizabeth, and of all circumstances affecting the succession, was hardly diminished, when, by the death of Francis, Mary had become free to accept any other offer which might be made to her, however opposed to the policy of Elizabeth†. The archduke Charles was at one time engaged, with the sanction of the brothers Guise, in the pursuit of Mary's hand. It has been before related, that the duke of Anjou was offered by the French court at once to Mary and Elizabeth. The duke of Ferrara and several princes of the empire were also candidates for the hand of Mary; and the prince of Condé was at one time suggested as a husband for her, with a view to a reconciliation between the French houses of Guise and Bourbon.†

In 1562 a rumour was prevalent, that when Philip II. offered to cede Sardinia to the king of Navarre, in consideration of his renouncing that titular monarchy, Mary was offered to him, if he were divorced from Jeanne d'Albert for her heresy. England was also said to be held out as a part of the lure, on the deposition of the heretical queen‡: but it is unlikely that Philip, who had not yet sacrificed his jealousy of French greatness to his zeal for the catholic cause, should have been willing to place so much power in the hands of French princes. It was apparently from this jealousy that an offer sprung, which was far more threatening to the peace of Elizabeth than any other which had been made to Mary. When the marriage of the queen of Scots to the archduke was seriously agitated, Philip informed cardinal Granville, in a confidential despatch, that he was content to sacrifice the suit of his son, Don Carlos, to that of his cousin, the archduke; but as he had heard, with no small uneasiness, that the king of France had turned his mind to an union with Mary Stuart, he should willingly con-

* Collins's Peerage, Brydges' ed. l. 173.

† Castelnau, liv. v. c. 11. 12.

‡ Thuanus, lib. xxviii. c. 27.

sent to the marriage of his son, the heir of the Spanish monarchy, to the queen of Scotland.* The escape of Mary from the hand of Don Carlos was the only fortunate event of her remaining life, and it must have been considered by Elizabeth as the removal of one of the greatest dangers that could have threatened her safety. For this reason, perhaps, it may be excusable to insert in this place, without a strict regard to the order of time, the circumstances of an event which, though not strictly a part of English history, was extremely characteristic of the monarch destined to be the most formidable antagonist of Elizabeth, and was calculated to display the odious nature of pretensions to that authority over a royal family, which was exercised blamably by Elizabeth over lady Catherine Grey, but which appears in a far more hideous form in the treatment of the prince of Asturias.

This wretched prince had from his infancy manifested every species of imbecility and depravity which can be united in the mind of one man. Incapable of instruction, yielding without bounds to every passion, stupid as the most grovelling brutes, ferocious as a beast of prey, no care of courtly masters, no lessons of learned preceptors could bestow on him that scanty polish of manner, and that smattering of the general language of intercourse, which are expected from princes. His grandfather, Charles V., who saw the heir of the Spanish dominions at sixteen, bewailed the fate of his late empire. A Venetian minister, long resident at Madrid, when he saw the prince eagerly tearing to pieces the rabbits brought in for his sport, and contemplating with delight the convulsions of their muscles and the palpitations of their hearts, foretold to his senate the miserable condition of those many millions in every region from sunrise to sunset, who were to be subject to his will. At eighteen he fell from a high scaffold, and received wounds in the head, which during the remainder of his life added convulsions, confusion of thought, and occasional attacks of insanity, to his natural defects and habitual vices. His father,

* Philip to Granville, 6th August, 1564. Apud Strad. de Bello Belgico, lib. iii. p. 71. edit. Mogunt. 1651.

perhaps justifiably, restrained him. His mad passion for travelling was exasperated; and he formed wild schemes of escape. His incoherent talk often turned on the revolt of the Flemings, with whom he sometimes affected a fellow-feeling; while, on other occasions, he professed an ambition to command the army against them. When the duke of Alva took his leave to repair to that command, Carlos said, "My father ought to have appointed me."—"Doubtless," said Alva, "his majesty considered your life as too precious." Carlos drew his dagger, and attempted to stab Alva; adding, "I will hinder your journey to Flanders, for I will pierce your heart before you set out."

Towards the end of 1567 his phrensy seemed to rage more fiercely, mingled with much of that cunning which sometimes, for a moment, covers madness with a false appearance of reason. He declared to his confessors that he was resolved to take the life of a man. In reply to their enquiries, who it was, he said that he aimed at a man of the highest quality; and after much importunate examination, he at length uttered, "My father!" His father, attended by the chief officers of state, went at midnight in armour to arrest him. Philip, acting on his fatal notions of the boundless rights of kings and fathers, did not shrink from communicating his proceedings to the great corporations of Spain, and to the principal catholic states of Europe. His subjects and his allies interceded for Carlos. Their intercessions were withstood by the iron temper, the unbending policy, and the misguided conscience of Philip, although he was occasionally haunted by the unquenchable feelings of nature. The commissioners appointed to try Carlos reported, that he was guilty of having meditated, and, at his arrest, attempted parricide; and that he had conspired to usurp the sovereignty of Flanders. They represented the matter as too high for a sentence; but insinuated that mercy might be dictated by prudence, and threw out a hint, that the prince was no longer responsible for his actions.

Men of more science than the Spanish commissioners and more secure in their circumstances, might be perplexed by the intrinsic difficulty of ascertaining the precise truth, in a case where the malignant rage of Carlos often approached to insanity, and might sometimes be inflamed to such a degree as to be transformed into utter alienation of mind. The clouds which always darkened his feeble reason, might sometimes quench it. The subtle and shifting transformations of wild passion into maniacal disease, the returns of the maniac to the scarcely more healthy state of stupid anger, and the character to be given to acts done by him when near the varying frontier which separates lunacy from malignity, are matters which have defied all the experience and sagacity of the world. At this point the records of the commission close with a note made by their secretary, stating shortly that the prince died of his malady, which hindered a judgment. A dark veil conceals the rest of these proceedings from the eyes of mankind. It is variously related. Philip is said to have ordered that advantage should be taken of the distempered appetites of Carlos, which after he had confined himself to iced water for a time, were wont to hurry him into voraciously swallowing monstrous quantities of animal food; that his excesses should be allowed, if not encouraged; and that he should thus be betrayed into becoming his own executioner. Another narrative, not quite irreconcilable with the former, describes the prince of Eboli and the cardinal Espinosa as having intimated to Olivarez, the physician of Carlos (as darkly as John spoke to Hubert), that it was necessary for him to execute the sentence of death, which the king had pronounced on the wretched patient, in such a manner that his decease might seem to be natural. When he felt himself to be in the agonies of death, he desired to see his father, and to receive his blessing. Philip sent his blessing, but by the advice of the confessor declined to disturb the dying devotions of Carlos. Vanquished by nature, however, he stole into the chamber, and, standing unseen, spreading his

arms over his son, prayed for a blessing on the expiring youth. The father withdrew, bathed in tears, and Carlos not many hours after breathed his last.* An historian, who wrote from original documents, adds to a narrative otherwise not dissimilar, the significant words, "if indeed violence was not employed †." However terrific the sound of this may be on other occasions, in the circumstances of Carlos, it rather relieves the mind, by intimating that his agonies were cut short, and can hardly be said to insinuate an aggravation of a tale so tragic, that, if proved to be real, it would be still too horrible, and too wide a deviation from the general truth of nature, for the verisimilitude required in history.

With whatever just horror a modern reader may contemplate such events, there is no reason to doubt that, throughout the whole course of conduct thus inhuman, Philip was unhappily supported by the approbation of a misled and deluded conscience. He and his contemporaries carried the notions of parental power to extremities, the practical assertion of which the laws of well ordered commonwealths would repress by condign punishment. Though it was then thought that a good prince

* This narrative is abridged from Llorente, *Histoire de l'Inquisition d'Espagne*, c. xxxi. vol. iii. p. 127—182. Thuanus, lib. xliii. c. 8., corroborates the main circumstances from the testimony of De Foix, a French architect, then superintending the erection of the palace of the Escorial, who was employed to block up Carlos's windows, and to take away the locks of his apartment, on the night before the arrest.

† Qua in custodia, infelix princeps, post sex menses, quum nullis aut Europæ principum legationibus, aut Hispaniæ regnorum precibus placaretur immotus pater, ex morbo ob alimenta, partim obstinate recusata, partim intemperanter adgesta nimiamque nivium refrigerationem, super animi ægritudinem (*si modo vis abfuit*) in Divi Jacobi pervigilio extinctus est."—*Strada de Bello Belg.* lib. vii. p. 213—218. edit. 4to. Mog. 16. Philip was falsely charged with the murder of his wife Elizabeth, who died in childbirth in the following October. The story of her amour with Carlos is also false. It was indeed stipulated in the preliminaries of the treaty of Câteau Cambresis, that a marriage should take place between Carlos and Elizabeth. But they were secret, and the death of Mary Tudor, together with queen Elizabeth's refusal, induced Philip to substitute himself for his son in the definitive treaty. Carlos and Elizabeth were both in their thirteenth year at the time of the secret agreement for their union in the preliminaries of Câteau Cambresis, which were so speedily cancelled by the definitive treaty as to be unknown to both till a period long subsequent. A despatch of Phayer, the English minister, from Madrid, some years after the treaty, reports that Carlos was then in the habit of reproaching his father with his loss of Elizabeth.

should leave the ordinary exercise of criminal justice to their judges, it was held also that kings, who were armed with the sword by God himself, were not bound to abstain from exercising their sacred right in such a mode as the circumstances of extraordinary cases might require. The rules and forms of law were thought to be desirable, but not indispensable parts of an act of regal justice. In the instance of Don Carlos, the father considered a secret execution as the only expedient for reconciling the deliverance of the nation from the rule of a monster, with the inviolable majesty of the royal line. The milder mode of pronouncing a lunatic to be incapable of succession to the throne probably appeared to him an open and dangerous invasion of the divine right of inheritance in a monarchy. He must also have been influenced by the more worldly policy of not keeping up a source of discord, and leaving behind him a pretence for usurpation which might deluge his mighty empire with blood.

CHAP. II.

SCOTTISH AFFAIRS UNTIL THE RETREAT OF MARY INTO ENGLAND.

1560—1568.

THE safety of the British government depended on a protestant establishment. Protestantism could not be secure in England if it were oppressed and extinguished in the neighbouring countries; the foreign policy of the queen can hardly, therefore, be distinguished from her domestic administration: this has already appeared in two remarkable instances; it will appear on a larger scale, and during a longer time, in her transactions with Scotland. By its position in the same island, and by a language mutually understood, that nation possessed means of annoyance which gave it an importance and consideration with Elizabeth, to which its smallness and poverty would not otherwise have entitled it. The community of language formed a strong tie between

the reformed preachers of both countries, the leaders of the people in that age of religious revolution. During the reign of Francis II. the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine, who were the rulers of France, governed Scotland by the hand of their sister the queen dowager*; a princess endowed with the capacity of her family, who was taught, by her feeble means, that she must stoop to prudence, and purchase some ascendant over events by occasionally yielding to their course. She was compelled sometimes to lean on the protestant party as it grew in strength, with the same species of trimming policy which induced Catherine de Medicis in France to make occasional use of the Huguenots, to balance the aspiring house of Lorraine. The seeds of the reformation had been early scattered among the Scots, where they found a soil very favourable to their growth in the hot temper and disputatious spirit which were in that age regarded as peculiarly distinguishing the Scottish nation.† The blood of martyrs nourished the enthusiasm of the rising religion. Cardinal Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, a man who united a dissolute life with a zeal for the faith shown chiefly in persecution, caused George Wishart, a pious and humble ecclesiastic, to be burnt alive for heresy, and went himself to witness the horrible death that was inflicted by his sentence. He and his dignitaries, clothed in their most gorgeous apparel, seated on velvet cushions, under a purple canopy, contemplated the lengthened agonies of Wishart, until his powers of life were destroyed by the flames.‡ The very perilous though specious doctrine of tyrannicide was called into practice by these atrocities of men in authority. A

* Mary of Guise, duchess dowager of Longueville, espoused James V.; and, after some struggles with cardinal Beaton and with the house of Hamilton, became regent of Scotland in 1554. *Acts Parl. Scot.* ii. 603.

† "Scoti ad iram naturā paullo propensiores." *Idem* Subita ingenia et ad ultionem prona, ferociaque. Ostentant plus nimis nobilitatem suam, ita, ut, in summa egestate, genus suum ad regiam stirpem referant. Nec non dialecticis argutiis sibi blandiuntur." *Pref. Mich. Servetus ad Ptolemae Geogr. Lugd.* 1535. The very remarkable notions of national character to be found in the preface of Servetus had probably been collected at the monasteries and colleges where the poor scholars of all European nations were mingled.

‡ 8 March, 1554. Archbishop Spotswood, *81*

body of persons, some of whom were of high rank, and none of the lowest, resolved to revenge the martyr by the slaughter of the cardinal.* They procured an entry into the castle of St. Andrew's by one of the falsehoods called stratagems, and they executed their purpose on a defenceless man, with all the precipitate rage which commonly attends such deeds.†

Though the queen regent had employed protestants as her occasional instruments, she could habitually trust none but catholics; and the rapid progress of the reformation obliged her to resort to French succour,—a measure too insidious and unpopular to be adopted without imminent danger. The lords of the congregation (so the protestant nobility were called) were driven by an imperious necessity to address themselves to England as soon as that kingdom was ruled by a protestant princess. Their success in Scotland was indispensable to the safety of Elizabeth: hence arose her inducement to favour them, and hence also sprung her justification for entering into a connection with them.

Although Scotland was represented at Câteau-Cambrésis by the French plenipotentiaries, and had been expressly comprehended in the general pacification concluded at that place‡, yet the pretensions, not renounced, of Mary to the crown of England, kept up an irritation and caused hostilities between the two courts, of which the particulars are sufficiently narrated by the historians of Scotland. English troops entered Scotland to protect the protestants against the French auxiliaries who were employed by the queen: the death of that princess, in June, 1560, contributed to prolong the Scottish troubles; while that of Henry II., in the summer of 1559, hastened the approach of civil war in France, by

* Among them were two Leslies, the son and brother of the earl of Rothes, together with Kirkaldy of Grange.

† The court of Henry VIII. had previously assured the conspirators against Beaton of a secure asylum. *Hamilton Papers, quoted by Robertson.* Knox vindicates the slaughter on the same principle with the famous exclamation of Cicero, "*Omnes boni, quantum in se fuit, Cæsarem occiderunt!*" Sir David Lindsay expresses the general feelings of protestants:—

"Although the loun (fellow) was well away,
The deed was foully done."

‡ Dumont, *Corps Diplom. v. part. 1. 23. 12th March, 2d and 3d April, 1560.*

giving full scope to the vast projects of the family of Guise.

The progress of the reformation was rapid and universal in Scotland. The ignorant multitude continued to frequent the churches of their establishment long after most of them had caught a vague inclination towards the reformed faith, easily combining in their unreflecting practice what was irreconcilable in principle. The ascendancy of the protestant lords, and the presence of an English force, encouraged them to throw off the mask, and to give the rein to their strong preference for the reformation. The Scottish nation, which had one day appeared faithful to the church of Rome, on the next day took up arms for the protestant cause. The commerce of the Lowlands with England and Flanders naturally spread the new opinions in those more cultivated and better peopled provinces. It is not so easy to discover how the Highlanders, instead of imitating their Irish brethren in attachment to traditional opinions, transferred their veneration so lightly to novelties which might have been expected to be unacceptable to rude and uninquisitive mountaineers. They seemed to be secured from the contagion of innovation by their language, which was radically different from that of their southern neighbours, and marked them as belonging to a perfectly different race of men. But the few natives, who were thinly scattered over a rugged country, in which a parish was often as large as a diocese, and among whom the religious houses were too rare to supply the want of parochial care, were so slightly tinctured with religious opinions, or rather with superstitious usages, that they without difficulty followed the fashion of their chiefs, who were themselves partly tempted to assume the name of protestant by the lure of a share in the spoils of the church, and were possibly also influenced by the example of the southern barons, from whom the greater part of the Highland chiefs professed to derive their pedigree.

In the summer of 1560, the princes of Lorraine, anxious to prepare, by the concentration of all their force, for

the extremities which were now approaching, resolved to withdraw their troops from Scotland, and to be content, for a season, with obtaining as favourable terms from England, and for the royal authority, as circumstances would allow.

A treaty of peace between England and France, comprehending the affairs of Scotland, which were the cause of difference, was concluded at Edinburgh, on the 6th of July, 1560, after long negotiations, which were principally conducted by sir William Cecil, on the one part, and on the other by Monluc bishop of Valence, a prelate of profligate manners*, but an experienced negotiator, who had more than once exercised his abilities among the fierce Scots, and was known as a minister to the haughty and fanatical court of Constantinople. The principal stipulations of the treaty were, the evacuation of Scotland by the military forces of both parties, and a solemn engagement that Francis and Mary should desist from assuming the title or bearing the arms of England.† It was found difficult to prevail on the French ministers to consent to any stipulations on behalf of the Scottish insurgents. These were proposed by the English queen on behalf of her allies; for though, in diplomatic forms, Francis and Mary represented their Scottish subjects, in truth Elizabeth was bound to secure the rights of the Scottish nation against the vengeance of their sovereigns. An article couched in courtly and mysterious language was devised, which, after stating that Francis and Mary had been pleased to show their clemency to the nobles and people of Scotland, by assenting to the prayer of their petitions presented on the day of the treaty, declared the desire of these illustrious princes to make known this proof of their benignity towards their own subjects, to their dear sister Elizabeth, whose requests had increased their readiness to grant these concessions; and it was finally

* Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, 10. Edin. 1827; where the amours of the bishop in the house of O'Docharty, an Irish chief, are, as usual, described.

† Rymer, xv. 593.

agreed that the most Christian king and queen should fulfil all that they had promised to the Scottish nation, so long as the nobles and people of Scotland fulfilled the terms to which they on their part had agreed.* The particulars of the petitions thus incorporated in the treaty, are stated in a despatch from Cecil to the queen. That great minister, with justice, tells his mistress, "As for the surety and liberty of Scotland, we have been the means to obtain all things requisite; so as the nobility here acknowledge the realm more bounden to your majesty than to their sovereign. In getting of things we have so tempered the manner of granting thereof, that the honour of the French king and queen is as much considered as may be. The country is to be governed by a council of twelve, out of twenty-four to be named by parliament; and of the twelve, seven are to be chosen by the queen, and five by the three estates." †

But the most immediately important of the concessions was the engagement of Monluc that an assembly of the states should be holden on the 10th of July, "which should be in all respects as valid as if it were called and appointed by the express commandment of the king and queen." The adjournment of the meeting from the 10th of July, was probably intended to give time for the royal negative from Paris, if it were thought advisable. The only exception made by Monluc related to religion, as not being within his commission; with respect to which it was agreed, that a deputation of the three estates should proceed to Paris with their own ratification, in order to satisfy the queen of the necessity of ratifying the concessions. ‡ This treaty was a master stroke of policy, which bound to Elizabeth that growing majority of Scotsmen who favoured the reformation. They were now taught to feel that she whose safety and faith were embarked with

* Rymer, xv. 595.

† Secretary Cecil to the queen. Camp before Leith, 6th July, 1560. Haynes, 351.

‡ Keith, 187. Cott. MS. Calig. b. ix. 125. It is astonishing that, in defence of this document, Keith should venture to call the assembly a pretended parliament.

them, ought to be regarded by them as their sole protectress.

We have already noted some of the causes of offence given by the princes of Lorraine to Elizabeth, and some of the grounds of just alarm which they had afforded to her, by asserting the pretensions of their niece Mary to the English throne. In relating facts so important, it may be pardonable to remind the reader that the title and arms of England were assumed by Francis and Mary immediately on the death of Mary Tudor, so as to mark without doubt that they were then used because the possessor was an usurper. The bull, by which the dying hand of Caraffa had deprived all heretical princes of their dominions, was obtained by Francis and Mary as an additional weapon against Elizabeth * : and it has already been seen, that the threatening titles were introduced into private legal documents, to familiarise the minds of men to them, and to interweave them with the ordinary securities of property.† A constant succession of the like acts followed, equivalent to a perpetual claim of the English crown. The heralds of Francis were, at a tournament in Paris, appressed in the arms of England; the ushers cried out in going before Mary, "Make way for the queen of England;" and the arms of England, as those of Mary, at the marriage of Philip II. with the princess Elizabeth of France, were inscribed on arches erected for that occasion, with Scottish verses, one of which designed her, "Of Scotland queen and England too."‡ The same proclamations and inscriptions followed her in her progress throughout the provinces.§ The secret acts of the French government corresponded with their avowed pretensions for Mary. In the summer of 1559, they privily sent to Scotland a staff of state with a great seal, on which were engraved

* Cecil in "a Brief Consideration of the Weighty Matter of Scotland."

1 Forbes's State Papers, 387.

† It is very observable that the grant of land to lord Fleming by Francis and Mary bears date on the 16th of January, 1559, two months after Elizabeth's accession, and within a few days of her coronation.

‡ June 28. 1559. July 16. July 27. Cecil's Diary, in Murdin, 747, 748.

§ Ibid. 749. Nov. 25. 1559.

the arms of France, Scotland, and England; of which John Knox, a passenger in the ship which bore these symbols of ambitious claims, obtained a sight under injunctions of profound secrecy.* We are assured by Castelnau, that though the English ambassador was amused by promises, the French ministers did not desist from the use of the arms of England; "because," says that minister, "they were fearful of doing irreparable injury to Mary, by impairing her title to the crowns of England and Ireland."†

The treaty of Edinburgh was ratified by Elizabeth within two months of its completion‡; but the Guises prevented their ill-fated niece from ceasing to provoke and alarm England. For nearly a year she refused, deferred, or evaded the ratification demanded repeatedly by Elizabeth, by resident ministers at Paris, and even by solemn embassies expressly charged to obtain it, as well after the death of Francis, in December, 1560, as before; and such was the pertinacity of her guides, that she would not consent to an act which renounced a present claim to the English crown, in order to obtain a safe return to Scotland.

It is here necessary to inform the reader, that the states of Scotland had assembled on the 1st of August, 1560, which was the prescribed day. The attendance, especially of the more popular estates, the untitled gentry, and the burgesses, was greater than in any former parliament. The session began with a debate on the legality of the assembly, which was questioned on account of the absence of any representative of the sovereigns, and of any commission from them. The express words of the concession justified the majority in over-ruling the objection. A statute was passed to abolish the papal authority in Scotland. A confession of faith, founded on the doctrine of Calvin, and a book of discipline, on the worship and government of the church according to the republican equality of the Genevese clergy, were

* M'Crie's Life of Knox, i. 243.

† September 2. 1560. Rymer, xv. 602.

‡ Castelnau, liv. ii. c. 4.

established by the assembly. They passed one remarkable act in civil matters, in which they offered the hand of the earl of Arran, the presumptive heir to their kingdom, in marriage to queen Elizabeth, and agreed to settle the Scottish crown upon them and their heirs, in failure of queen Mary and her posterity.*

From circumstances related by a writer nearly contemporary, it should seem that these great measures were almost unanimously assented to. The catholic prelates were silent: only three lay peers, the earl of Athol, the lords Somerville and Borthwick, muttered their dissent, saying, "We shall continue to believe as our fathers before us have believed."† Sir James Sandilands, a knight of Rhodes, was despatched to lay these proceedings before the queen, but he was rejected with scorn.

A specimen of the negotiations in one of the attempts to persuade queen Mary to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, is preserved in a despatch from sir Nicholas Throgmorton to Elizabeth‡, in which that able minister relates his conversation with the cardinal of Lorraine, who joined the arts and manners of Rome with the aspiring spirit of his family. The cardinal's main plea against ratification was, that the Scots had not performed their part, by a complete return to their obedience. "The Scots, I will tell you frankly," said he to Throgmorton, "perform no point of their duties: the king and the queen have the name of their sovereigns, and your mistress hath the obedience. They would bring the realm to a republic. Though you say your mistress has in all things performed the treaty; we say the Scots, by her countenance, perform no point of the treaty." The same argument was repeated by Francis II., Catherine de Medicis, and queen Mary, at the audiences which they gave to Throgmorton. "To tell you of the particular disorders," said the cardi-

* Acta Parl. Scot. ii. 525.; and for the statute relating to Arran, same vol. Appendix, 605. The records of Scotland appear to be peculiarly deficient in this turbulent period.

† Archbishop Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland, 151.

‡ Throgmorton to Elizabeth, 17th Nov. 1560. 1 Hard. State Papers 125—146.

nal, "were too long;" which is his only apology for not specifying any. Throgmorton, in his private audience ~~the~~ queen Mary, assured that princess that if she would be graciously pleased to observe all that Randan and the bishop of Valence had promised, "the states of Scotland would perfect their duty to their majesties, by sending a suitable embassy to Paris; for the only grievance which the king, or the queen, or the cardinal, had deigned to specify was, that the Scottish parliament had sent "a mean man" to Paris to convey their prayers, though the person so described was sir James Sandilands, preceptor [head] of the order of St. John of Jerusalem (or Malta) in Scotland. The cardinal neither urged that the ambassadors had exceeded their powers, nor complained of the parliament for having overpassed the concessions by a change of religion. If the temporary government had acted as a republic, he should have remembered that the legislative, and in effect the executive, power had been ceded to them by the agreement at Leith. He made no distinction between the treaty with Elizabeth and the grants to the people of Scotland. If he had objected to the latter part of the treaty as containing a promise to a foreign sovereign, that the king and queen of Scotland would observe the conditions which they had granted to their own subjects (which he never does), at least he ought to have offered to ratify the prior article *, which recognised the undisputed right of Elizabeth to her own throne; and to engage that they should never assume, nor allow to be used by others, to them or for them, the title or arms of England. To this article there was no objection on the ground either of Elizabeth's illicit interference in Scottish affairs, or of the default of the Scottish parliament. The refusal or the delay and evasion of so harmless a stipulation, which was important to England, manifested a hostile mind against Elizabeth, and an inflexible purpose to keep very formidable pretensions hanging over her head; ready, whenever she was weak or they were

* Rymer, xv. 393. Dumont, Corps Diplomat. v. part. 1. 63.

strong, to crush her throne. Probably it was not considered by either party in these conferences, that the effect of a refusal of ratification was to restore the state of war. Either party might indeed forbear from actual warfare, but that forbearance would be an abstinence from the exercise of a right; for when either party refused to complete the contract which was to close a war, the belligerent rights of the opposite party were necessarily revived.

Cecil, however, from the beginning, founded the advice which he gave his sovereign to take a part in Scottish affairs, on the more comprehensive principle of the justice and policy of self-defence.* “It is agreeable to God’s law,” said he, “for every prince and public state to defend itself not only from present peril, but from perils that may be feared to come. It is manifest that France cannot any way so readily, so puissantly offend, yea invade and put the crown of England in danger, as if they recover an absolute authority over Scotland. The long deep-rooted hatred of the house of Guise, which now occupieth the king’s authority against England, is well known. What chiefly stays the execution of their purpose against England, is the resistance in Scotland, where they have lately sent a great seal with the arms of England.” Maitland of Lethington, who destroyed the effect of great abilities by a capricious inconstancy, which repelled all trust, seconded with his wonted talents the reasoning of Cecil.† “The fear of conquest,” says he, “made the Scots to hate the English and love the French. The case changed,—when we see them (the French) attempt conquest, and you (the English) show us friendship,—shall we not hate them and favour you? especially now that we are come to a conformity of doctrine, and profess the same religion with you, which I take to be the straitest knot of amity that can be devised.”

These reasonings on the justice and policy of armed interference for a friendly party, where the safety of a

* A Brief Consideration of the Weighty Matter of Scotland. 1 Forbes’s State Papers, 387.

† Robertson, Hist. of Scotland, App. No. II.

state requires it, are in substance common to all ages and nations; though they were not expressed by the statesmen of the sixteenth century in the artificial language of what was afterwards called international law. Their principal defect is, that they may often be used with equal plausibility by several contending parties; though it is generally evident that one only has justice on its side. In the particular case before us, the defect does not seem to be considerable. The true question always being, which party is really influenced by self-defence, and which employs it merely as a pretext, it cannot be doubted that Elizabeth sought an ascendant in Scotland for her own safety, while the house of Guise pursued the same object for their aggrandisement. To this may be added, that the first wrong was done by the princes of Lorraine, in setting up their niece as a pretender to the English crown; and that this wrong was grievously aggravated by their perseverance in it. They obstinately persisted in using the royal arms of England as a flag round which every discontented and disaffected Englishman might rally; and this, even after their own ministers had pledged them by a solemn treaty to discontinue such an incentive to revolt. It has already been observed, that the reasonings of Cecil and of Maitland were not conveyed in the specious and subtle language of modern jurists: they were, nevertheless, conformable to the most approved principles. These ancient statesmen do not seem to have been aware of the difficulty of reconciling the rights of self-defence with the apparently conflicting duty of every community to respect the independence of every other, and to manifest their sense of justice by abstaining from interference in the internal affairs of independent countries. The solution, however, of that difficulty flows from the simple principle which is the basis of Cecil's advice. The right of defence, whether exercised to repel an attack or to prevent it, is the self-same right, and extends to conventions with contending parties in a community, as much as to those which subsist with contending states. When a contest for supreme

power prevails in a country, foreign states, who have no jurisdiction in the case, are neither bound nor entitled to pronounce a judgment on the armed litigation. Their relations with each other being formed for the welfare of the subjects of each, they must treat the actual rulers of every territory as its lawful government. In all ordinary cases, they should treat the pretenders as alike legitimate wherever they are obeyed; and preserve the same neutrality in the war between parties as if it were waged between independent states. It is a very obvious inference from these premises, that foreign sovereigns may ally themselves with a possessor of authority, if defence and safety require it, on the same ground that they form alliances with the most anciently established government. Whenever it is lawful to make war, it is equally lawful to obtain strength by alliances. It would, doubtless, be more for the general welfare of mankind to adjust their differences by institutions making some approach to a discerning and honest judgment, than to leave them to the blind and destructive arbitrament of war. But as long as nations assail their neighbours by arms, they must be resisted by the same cruel and undistinguishing expedient. The laws of war (as they are called) are the same in civil as in foreign warfare. It is as much forbidden by international morality to league with an unjust state, as it is in private litigation to support an unjust suitor. But as independent nations have no common superior, their wars must be practically treated, by those who desire to remain neutral, as if they were just on both sides. In some extraordinary instances of notorious and flagrant wrong, neutral nations may be entitled, and even perhaps sometimes bound, to interpose for the prevention of injustice and inhumanity. In such extraordinary emergencies, whether a nation is influenced by a regard to its own safety, or by a disinterested reverence for justice, both these principles point to the same practical result. For as the general prevalence of a disposition to act justly and humanely is the principal safeguard of nations as well as of individuals, to which

the terrors of law or even of arms are only occasional and inadequate auxiliaries, it is not possible to set the example of bidding open defiance to humanity and justice without impairing the security of states, in proportion to the extent of such acts of criminal audacity.

Had Francis II. lived a little longer, the princes of Lorraine meditated an exercise of his authority, which would have anticipated some of the tragical scenes of a succeeding period. All the great lords, officers of the crown, members of the privy council, and other considerable persons, were commanded to attend an assembly of the states-general, to be holden at Orleans, at Christmas, 1560, that they, as well as the deputies of the three estates, might sign a confession of the catholic faith, which was afterwards to be circulated through every parish, and tendered for subscription to every individual in the kingdom. The subscription was to cancel past offences; but defaulters were to be punished by condemnation and confiscation, to be followed by banishment or death.* The execution of these or the like designs was postponed for twelve years, and reserved for other chiefs, by the death of Francis II.,—a nominal king, whose insignificant name was the tool of the Guises, and only served to fix a few dates, or to mark the limits of a brief period, distinguished by no conspicuous occurrences. But the reign of Francis, thus unimportant in itself, was big with the confusions which ensued.

By his death, Catherine de' Medici recovered part of the authority which the princes of Lorraine had engrossed. In the mean time Mary Stuart, in the flower of her youthful beauty, accustomed to sway in a gallant court, hating the queen-mother, over whom she had wantonly triumphed, was soon weary, either of enduring Catherine's new superiority at court†, or of dragging

* Castelnau, liv. ii. c. 12. Vol. i. 58. ed. de Brux. 1781. folio. The same project is adverted to by De Thou, Hist. sui Temp. lib. xxvi. c. 2. ii. 39, 40. ed. Lond. 1733.

† "The queen-mother was blythe of the dethe of king Francis her sonne, because she had na guiding of him, but only the duke of Guise and the cardinal his brother, by reason that the queen our maistress was their

out her lonely widowhood in a province, without favour, and deserted by her followers. The catholics of her own country early sent to her John Lesley, afterwards bishop of Ross, a minister of ability, an elegant scholar, and an adherent of devoted fidelity, with earnest advice that she should land on the north-east coast of Scotland, where the house of Gordon, a powerful family of zealous catholics, might assemble their vassals, and accompany her to Edinburgh, with a force sufficient for the restoration of religion and royalty.

The confidential ambassador of the protestants was James Stuart, prior of St. Andrew's, a natural son of James V. by Margaret Erskine (a daughter of the noble family whose title to the earldom of Mar was afterwards recognised), a person surpassed in ability by no man of his age; and, if not spotless, yet with a public life as unstained as it was perhaps possible to bear through scenes so foul. He urged the necessity of her return to Scotland, mainly with a view to place her in the hands of protestants; but also because he was convinced that her return to her dominions and a compromise with the prevalent religion were the only means by which she could regain any portion of power and securely retain the crown.

Her uncles, who were still more politicians than catholics, saw the necessity of temporising, and distrusted the advice of zealots: they acquiesced in lord James's counsel for the moment, content to adjourn the subjugation of Scotland till all Europe should again bend under the papal yoke. The French officers who had served in Scotland warned the queen against trusting to the strength of the royalists, apprised her of the universality of the defection, urged the necessity of complying with the temper of her people, and advised her to place her confidence in lord James, and to em-

sister dochter. So the queen-mother was content to be quyt of the house of Guise, and for their cause she had a great mislyking of our queen."
—*Melville's Mem.* 86. ed. Edin. 1827.

ploy Maitland of Lethington and Kirkaldy of Grange, in spite of the inconstancy which belonged to both.

As soon as Mary had determined on her return to her kingdom, she despatched D'Oysell to London to ask a safe-conduct for the minister to pursue his journey into Scotland; and for the queen of Scots herself, either on her voyage from France to Scotland, or on a journey to her own dominions from any English port where she should choose to land.* Elizabeth delivered her answer to him at a crowded court with a loud voice, and in a tone of emotion, refusing both requests; and adding, that the queen of Scots should ask no favours till she had redeemed her pledged faith by the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh. "Let your queen ratify the treaty, and she shall experience on my part, either by sea or by land, whatever can be expected from a queen, a relation, and a neighbour." When advices were received of D'Oysell's failure, Throgmorton, the English minister, was admitted to an audience of Mary, in which she displayed a spirit and calmness probably unexampled among beautiful queens of nineteen. Having waved her hand as a signal to the company to withdraw to another part of the room, she said to Throgmorton: "My lord ambassador—I know not how far I may be transported by passion, but I like not to have so many witnesses of my passion as the queen your mistress was content to have when she talked to M. D'Oysell. There is nothing that doth more grieve me than that I did so forget myself as to desire from the queen a favour that I had no need to ask. You know that, both here and elsewhere, I have friends and allies. It will be thought strange among all princes and countries, that she should first animate my subjects against me; and now that I am a widow, hinder my return to my own country. I ask her nothing but friendship. I do not trouble her state, or practise with her subjects; yet I know there be in her realm, that be inclined enough to hear offers.

* A copy of D'Oysell's written application, hitherto unpublished, is in the State Paper Office, dated 11th July, 1561.

I know also that they be not of the same mind that she is of, neither in religion nor in other things. Your queen says I am young, and lack experience. I confess I am younger than she is. During my late lord and husband's time, I was subject to him; and now my uncles, who are counsellors of the crown of France, deem it unmeet to offer advice on the affairs between England and Scotland. I cannot proceed in this matter until I have the counsel of nobles and states of mine own realm, which I cannot have till I come among them. I never meant harm to the queen my sister. I should be loath either to do wrong to others, or to suffer so much wrong to myself."* The genuineness of this eloquent speech, one of the most remarkable specimens of guarded sarcasm and of politely insinuated menace, is indisputable; for it is reported by a pen that would not have adorned it. After this conversation, James Stuart, commendator of the monastery of St. Colm†, was despatched to London. He left Abbeville on the 8th of August, with instructions more friendly than Mary's conversation would have led Elizabeth to expect. The latter princess, in her letter of the 16th to the queen of Scots, continues to say, "We require no benefit of you but that you will perform your promise; neither covet we any thing but what is in your own power, as queen of Scotland,—that which indeed made peace between us; yea, that without which no amity can continue between us. Nevertheless, perceiving by the report of the bringer that you mean forthwith, on your coming home, to follow the advice of your council in Scotland, we are content to *suspend* our conceit of unkindness, and do assure you, this being performed, to live in neighbourhood with you quietly in the knot of friendship. It seemeth that report hath been made to you, that we had sent out our admiral with our fleet to hinder your passage. Your servants know how false that is. We have only, at the desire of the king of Spain,

* Throgmorton to queen Elizabeth. Paris, 26th July 1561. Cabala, 335.

† Keith's Historical Catalogue, 386. Edin. 1824.

sent two or three small barks to sea, in pursuit of certain Scottish pirates."* These last words must be considered as substantially an assurance that orders had been given to the commander of the English vessels equivalent to a safe-conduct. A breach of such an assurance would have been as infamous as that of the most formal instrument. The law of nations, which has the imperfection of being destitute of tribunals to decide its disputes, and of force to carry judgments into execution, has, at least, some compensation in being free from pettifoggery, and knows little of the distinction between formal and informal instruments.

Though Mary surpassed her cousin both in vivacity and address, Elizabeth had undoubtedly the better cause; and in her last letter showed more prudence. When asked for a favour, she required the payment of a debt of justice. Mary would have forfeited no fair advantage by ratifying the renunciation. Whatever influence Mary might gain in England by declining to renounce a present claim to the crown superior to that of Elizabeth, was evidently inconsistent with her professed desire of peace, and could only be kept up at the expense of the quiet and safety of the English nation. By the renunciation of the claim to possession, on the other hand, the succession of the house of Stuart, after the death of Elizabeth without issue, according to the hereditary nature of the monarchy, was left inviolate. The two claims to possession and succession, so far from being naturally connected, were practically inconsistent. The claim to possession asserted by the arms supposed Elizabeth to be an usurper—the right of succession recognised her as a lawful sovereign.†

The queen of Scots began her voyage about the 14th

* Elizabeth to Mary, 16th Aug. 1561. Robertson's Appendix, No. VI.

† Dr. Robertson, a judicious and accurate historian, has argued this case as if the consequence acquired by Mary's pretensions to England were not unlawful; and has confounded the right of succession with the claim to possession. Notwithstanding his general correctness, and his uniform solicitude for truth, he has suffered the words "in all times to come" to slide into his summary of the renunciation, which may seem to favour his argument; though they would, in truth, be of little moment if they were part of the treaty. Robertson, ii. 49. Ed. 1802. 8vo.

of August, 1561: she had been accompanied to Calais by six of her princely uncles, and attended thither by a brilliant company of the lords and ladies of the French court. A smaller number followed her to her kingdom; among whom, fortunately for posterity, was Peter de Bourdeille, lord of Brantome, whose artless and picturesque narrative has furnished to historians the materials of a story which for three centuries has touched the hearts of mankind.

At the moment when the queen was leaving the harbour of Calais, and just before the oars of her galley were first dipped into sea water, a vessel perished before her eyes, from disregarding the soundings and currents, and the greater part of the mariners were lost. On beholding this, Mary exclaimed, "*Good God, what an omen for a voyage!*" When they had cleared the harbour a breeze sprung up, so that they made sail, and the oars of the galley slaves ceased from their noise. The queen, leaning on both arms, stood on the poop, and, amidst the big tears which fell from her fine eyes, looked back on the port and country which she was quitting, repeating, "Farewell, France! farewell, France!" She continued in this mournful state for some hours, till it waxed dark; and she was entreated to go into the cabin, and eat a little supper. She exclaimed, weeping more plentifully and more bitterly, "It is now, my dear France, that I lose sight of thee: I shall never see thee more." A bed was prepared for her on the poop, where she had some interrupted and disturbed sleep. The steersman awakened her at break of day; for so she had ordered him to do if the French coast were then in view. As it disappeared, she redoubled her farewell ejaculations, exclaiming, "Farewell, France! it is over; I shall never see thee again:"—so poignant were the feelings inspired by the affections, the fears, and the recollections of a royal beauty, whose days of magnificence and power were now closed. Let it not be forgotten, that the experience of unwonted sorrow disposed her to pity: she did not allow a slave in the galleys to

be struck, requesting, and even expressly commanding, her uncle of Aumale to enforce the execution of her humane orders. The weather was clear till the day before the landing of the vessels, when they were surrounded by a fog so thick that the eye could see no object so far as from poop to prow. They were obliged to cast anchor in open sea, and to take soundings often; and on Monday morning, the 19th of August, when the fog was dispersed, they found themselves so surrounded with rocks, that if they had not stopped they must have perished.*

A small English squadron, sent out, as has been said, in pursuit of Scottish pirates, saw the royal vessels,—saluted them,—and, after searching the baggage vessels for pirates, dismissed the whole convoy amicably, except one vessel, which was suspected of having pirates on board.† That such pirates were then cruising in the Scottish sea is indisputable: for, on the 25th of August, Elizabeth sent to Mary a list of their names, desiring that they might be delivered up to justice; and, on the 6th of September‡, Mary answered that news of this disorder had reached her before she had left France; that on her arrival in Scotland she had prohibited suspicious cruisers; and that, on the receipt of Elizabeth's letter, she had ordered search to be made for the plunderers. That the English fleet saw the galleys, and might have captured them, is evident from the fact admitted by Cecil, that one of the ships was actually detained. The conduct of the English commanders towards Mary's vessels minutely corresponds with the assurance of Elizabeth, in her letter of the 16th of August, that she suspended her displeasure at the refusal to ratify the treaty, and had given

* Brantôme, i. 119—125. Edit. Lond. 1779.

† *Mém. de Castelnau*, liv. iii. c. i. Hardw. State Papers, 176. Cecil to Throgmorton. Brantôme limits the duration of the fog to the last day. Castelnau mentions that the English vessels were seen from the queen's galleys; which must refer to a time before objects on the prow were invisible from the poop. They both corroborate the intelligence of Cecil.

‡ These last letters (not yet published) are in the State Paper Office. They show that piracy was not a pretext. A letter from Randolph, in March, 1561, speaks of the pirates six months before the queen's voyage.

orders to her naval officers which were equivalent to a safe-conduct.

On landing at Leith, the queen and her company were obliged to mount the wretched hackney horses of the country, still more wretchedly caparisoned. The queen burst into tears, exclaiming, "Are these the pomps, the splendours, and the superb animals on which I used to ride in France?" When they arrived at the abbey of Holyrood*, the French courtiers owned that it was a fine building, and that it did not partake of the barbarism of the country. In the evening, however, they were annoyed by a multitude of 500 or 600 persons, who sung Psalms under the windows, — an early and offensive badge of their Calvinism, — playing on sorry rebecks and unstrung fiddles, with such neglect of all harmony, that the Parisian connoisseurs thought it worth their while to criticise their performance. Next morning, the queen's chaplain narrowly escaped with his life from the hands of the fanatical rabble, who viewed him with horror as a priest of Baal.† "Such," said the queen, "is the beginning of welcome and allegiance from my subjects: what may be the end I know not; but I venture to foretell that it will be very bad."

It would have perplexed a philosophical moralist to have estimated the comparative depravity of the country where she had lived, and of the country where she came to rule: in falsehood, circumvention, in faithless disregard of engagements, in every black crime which requires hateful forethought and wicked contrivance, the court of Catherine de' Medici was unmatched; in shameless and gross dissolution of manners it surpassed every other: the number of political atrocities was probably greater at Paris than at Edinburgh. The guilty deeds to which men are instigated by violent passions were, in all likelihood, most numerous in Scotland: the reformation, which taught more severe manners, had not yet breathed the Christian spirit of love and charity; but from the eye of the young princess the varnish of manner and

* Holy Cross.

† Brantome, i. 123.

pageantry of apparel, however slight and unequal, and the little tincture of arts and letters which began to spread a somewhat fairer hue over the society of France, altogether hid the near approach to equality of the two nations with respect to the weightier matters of the law.

Notwithstanding the forebodings of Mary on her arrival, her administration was for several years prudent and prosperous. The presbyterian establishment continued inviolate, without any enquiry into the irregularities of its origin. The revolts against legal authority were overlooked; and an act of oblivion was passed in the parliament of 1564.

During this period, the Scottish policy of Elizabeth continued to be governed by the same principle of countenancing and encouraging the protestant party, her natural and necessary allies. Mary's powerful and ambitious uncles were desirous of extending their sway by the marriage of their niece to a catholic prince. The policy of Elizabeth would disincline her to give that strength to the catholic presumptive heiress which a powerful or able husband would necessarily bestow. But, whatever her inclinations might be, it is not likely that so sagacious a woman would actively pursue a project of perpetual celibacy for a young and beautiful queen. The objects which were perhaps attainable, though with much difficulty, were to prevent her wedding a catholic or a foreign prince; because the latter might have formidable connections, and because he was likely to be of the catholic party. An Englishman was the person whom it would best suit the queen's policy that Mary should espouse: and as Elizabeth had listened without displeasure to the proposal of the states of Scotland, that the earl of Arran should be her husband*, the like tender of the hand of an English subject could not in England be thought derogatory from the honour and dignity of the Scottish queen. Although it was as lawful for Elizabeth to prevent by fair means the accession of

* For this tender see the statute above cited; also the original suggestion, unpublished, in the State Paper Office, in February, 1561: to which queen Elizabeth's answer may be seen in Haynes, 364.

Scotland to her enemies by marriage, as it would be to hinder their conquest of a country on which the safety of her own dominions depended ; yet her interference to impede the free choice of a husband by her cousin was a policy of a stern and obnoxious sort, which required much address, and all the mitigations of which so harsh a measure was susceptible. It was necessary to the political object that advances should be slowly made ; that proposals should be suggested before they were avowed ; that the temper of Mary should be sounded at every step ; and that Elizabeth should sometimes retire quickly from a plan which should appear impracticable or hazardous. It was impossible, in a correspondence of two women on such a subject, that the passions and weaknesses of their sex should not mingle with their policy as sovereigns : if these considerations be kept in view, it will not be difficult to form a judgment on the following summary of the matrimonial negotiation, which will not import grave blame of either queen.

The offers made to Mary on the part of the archduke Charles of don Carlos, and other foreign princes, have been narrated at the same time with the proposals made to Elizabeth. Every such marriage of Mary was objectionable to Elizabeth for the most solid reasons of national security. The protestant nobility of Scotland dreaded a Roman catholic husband, especially if strengthened by foreign dominions. An alliance with a powerful monarch was unpopular among Scotchmen of all parties, as threatening that ancient independence of which a martial nation felt a generous jealousy, the guardian of their national rank,—a sentiment which atoned for many of the vices incident to their barbarism.

Mary, soon after her return to Scotland, solicited an interview with Elizabeth to cement their friendship, and to settle their differences amicably. The queen of England had concluded a treaty with the prince of Condé, which will be presently more fully considered, for the defence of the protestants against the cruelty and perfidy

of the Guisian faction *; which naturally induced her to postpone such manifestation of friendship, until an amicable adjustment of the affairs of France should allow her to meet Mary without causing any suspicion that her zeal to resist the house of Lorraine had become lukewarm. †

Elizabeth made a nearer approach to the delicate subject of marriage in instructions to Randolph, her minister at Edinburgh, on the 16th of November, 1563, the day before he set out on his mission. In these instructions Cecil, who was the writer, discusses very ably the reasons which ought to regulate the choice of Mary; which he briefly stated to be, 1. The mutual affection of the wedded parties; 2. The approval of her own subjects; and, 3. The friendship of Elizabeth. On this last head Cecil observed, that the queen, his mistress, could not think a foreign match conducive to the end; and he adds, that she disapproved of the means employed [by Mary's uncle the cardinal, of whose practices she was not ignorant ‡], for a husband in the emperor's family. Randolph was farther instructed to say from himself, by indirect speeches, that "nothing would content Elizabeth so much as Mary's choice of some noble person within the kingdom of England, having the qualities and conditions meet for such an alliance, [yea, perchance, (adds the queen in her own handwriting), such as she could hardly think we could agree unto,] and therewith be agreeable to both queens and both their nations;" — or, as the words are reported by sir James Melville, "with whom her majesty might more readily and more safely declare and extend the good-will her majesty has to cause you to enjoy, before any creature, any thing she has, next herself or children." §

Randolph, some time after ||, suggested Robert Dudley;

* Dumont. Corps. Diplom. pars. 1. p. 94. Hampton Court, 20th Sept. 1562.

† Ellis's Letters, second series, vol. i. p. 267. Sir William Cecil to an unknown correspondent, 11th October, 1562.

‡ MSS. in State Paper Office, in November, 1563, and March, 1564. The words between brackets are inserted in Cecil's MS. in the handwriting of Elizabeth.

§ Melville, 107.

|| Before January, 1564. MSS. correspondence. State Paper Office.

on which Mary made some dilatory and evasive answers, and concluded by saying, "I do not look for the kingdom; my sister may marry and live longer than myself; my respect is to what may be for my commodity (policy) and the contentment of my friends, who, I believe, would hardly agree that I should embase myself so far as that:" words which seem clearly to imply that favourable terms respecting the succession had been held out if she should consent to the marriage recommended to her by Elizabeth. Lord Robert Dudley was the younger son of the regent duke of Northumberland, and, consequently, a brother of lord Guilford Dudley, lady Jane Grey's husband. Writers familiarly acquainted with him represent his person as goodly, his countenance as singularly well featured, and in his youth of a sweet aspect. His high forehead gave a dignity to this soft expression; he possessed the arts, the attainments, and the graceful manners which flourish in courts. Intoxicated by the favour of the queen, his ambition aspired beyond the level of his capacity, either in council or in the field. Placed so near the summit of grandeur, he is charged, on imperfect evidence, with murdering two of his wives as impediments on his way to the throne. None of his contemporaries ascribe any merit to him but the shallow and showy qualities of a courtier. The most obvious explanation of the favour enjoyed by such a man at the court of the wisest of queens, must be owned to be found in the weaknesses to which female sovereigns are peculiarly liable. Yet it is not easy to study the virtues or the vices of Elizabeth without inclining to an opinion, that the same pleasure in the exercise of supreme power, the same pride of rule, the same aversion from subjection which made her impatient of the authority of a husband, would also dispose her to reject the often harsher yoke of an illicit lover. Fancies and preferences, especially in haughty women, do not always become passionate attachments. Women may be touched who will not be subdued; and many pass their lives on the brink of weaknesses into which they never fall. Elizabeth is

said to have inherited from Henry VIII. a taste for handsome attendants, as pageants of the court; a preference which might have been softened by the sex of Elizabeth, without outweighing her sense of dignity, overpowering her hatred of a master, or silencing the voice of moral principle, which, however sometimes disobeyed, was no stranger to her breast.

As there is no doubt that Dudley aspired to the hand of Elizabeth, he must have professed, and may have felt, a repugnance to an union with the most beautiful, and most accomplished, queen in Europe. The negotiation on the subject continued during the whole year 1564. On condition of its success, it appears that Elizabeth was ready to grant those very favourable terms which she authorised Randolph to hold out in November; which some writers describe as the adoption of Mary as a daughter or sister, with the recognition of her rights as presumptive heiress to the crown. So late as the 5th of February, 1565, Randolph, in his despatches from Edinburgh, assured his court of the inclination of the queen of Scots to marry the earl of Leicester, and the great probability of the successful issue of his embassy.* Some historians have, very gratuitously, supposed these negotiations on the part of England to have been insincere, and intended only to prolong the celibacy of Mary, or at least to divert her from a foreign alliance. Undoubtedly the latter purpose always influenced Elizabeth: but can any one seriously believe that, if the queen of Scots had shown a willingness to wed Leicester, Elizabeth either could with plausibility or would in prudence have rejected an arrangement which she herself proposed, and which placed Scotland under the administration of her most trusty lieutenant? Every political reason pleaded for the real and earnest pursuit of the marriage. Elizabeth showed that she had herself no

* Cecil's Diary in Murdin's State Papers, 506—508. February 5. 1565, and Keith, 269.; who adds from himself, "*as we may conjecture*, by declaring our queen presumptive heiress to the crown of England;" an inference which Dr. Robertson, by an oversight very unusual with him, alleges as part of the despatch, and relies on as an historical fact. Robertson, *ii.* 109.

purpose to wed Leicester; nor is it reasonable to impute to a politic sovereign the sacrifice of her highest interest to amorous frailties: and it is incredible that she should have been influenced by so chimerical a project as that of perpetuating the widowhood of a queen, for whose hand all Europe was then pouring forth competitors. Some plausibility has been given to this supposed delusion practised on Mary by the unexpected backwardness of Elizabeth, at the critical moment, in sacrificing expectations relating to the succession, which her former language had been calculated to excite. But she inherited much of that jealousy of pretenders, of competitors, and of heirs, which the Tudor princes caught from their originally irregular title. This jealousy was confirmed by the revolts against Henry VIII.; and still more by those religious revolutions, which afforded alarming proofs how easily established institutions might be overthrown.*

As the prospect of marriage with Leicester vanished, another candidate presented himself, whose appearance was attended by almost instantaneous success. This was Henry Stuart, lord Darnley, the son of the earl of Lennox, by lady Margaret Douglas, daughter of Margaret Tudor, queen of Scots, by the second marriage of the last princess with the earl of Angus. The countess of Lennox was the grand-daughter of Henry VII. by his eldest daughter, and followed Mary in the order of hereditary succession to the crown of England. The earl of Lennox was the representative of an ancient branch of the royal family, who had acquired high honour and large possessions by marrying the heiress of the old thanes and earls of Lennox, whose origin is lost in the darkness of the earliest times. Henry Stuart was born in England; his parents had been driven into exile; and lady Lennox herself was born in Northumberland, where

* The following words in one of Cecil's despatches contain the best key to Elizabeth's fluctuations:—"I see the queen's majesty very desirous to have my lord of Leicester to be the Scottish queen's husband; but when it cometh to the conditions which are demanded, I see her then remiss of her earnestness. 30th Dec. 1564."—*Ellis*, ii. 294. The date of the letter, and the words "conditions which are demanded," which must refer to the succession, seem to render it decisive.

her mother the queen had taken refuge. In the autumn of 1564, the earl of Lennox went to Scotland with letters recommendatory of his suit from Elizabeth, in order that he might obtain a reversal of his attainder, and restitution of his honours and estates. It is not unlikely that the English ministers, when they began to doubt the success of Leicester, might have turned their thoughts to Lennox's return * as a means of procuring Mary's hand for Darnley; an individual not formidable, a subject of Elizabeth, the remaining fortune of whose family was in England, where it formed some pledge of his adherence to the English interest. Elizabeth, however, before the measure was adopted, attempted to dissuade Mary from it, lest it might offend the powerful house of Hamilton, the grantees of Lennox's estates. † The extreme displeasure of Mary at this dissuasion ‡ seems rather to indicate that the proposal originated in the court of Scotland; and an attempt of Elizabeth, some years before §, to promote Lennox's restoration, leads to the inference, that though some other motives may have concurred, yet her principal object was to do an act of good nature to lady Lennox, the nearest kinswoman of both queens. That it was an artifice contrived by Elizabeth to embroil the marriage with Dudley, by the interposition of a new competitor, is an assertion without and against proof; since there is the fullest evidence that the English government solicited and desired that marriage seven months afterwards. || Lord Darnley followed his father in February. "Her majesty," says sir James Melville, "took well with him, and said he was the lustiest ¶ and best-proportioned

* Sir J. Melville's Memoirs, p. 108. Ed. 1827.

† By letter of 5th July, Keith, 253. Cecil's Diary, Murdin, 757. Melville, 108.

‡ Melville, p. 112. Keith, 257.

§ In 1599. Haynes, 213.

|| It is evident that Randolph did not despair of success before the 15th or 18th of April, 1565. Keith, Appendix, 158, 159. MS. despatches in State Paper Office. The suspicion even of Sir James Melville, in memoirs, of which a part, if not the whole, was certainly written in 1593, cannot prevail over strictly contemporary despatches. The only defect of this excellent writer is, that his diplomatic life made him too much a believer in over-refined policy.

¶ Handsomest. See Johnson and Jamieson, with the authority of Spenser.

lang man that she had seen; for he was of high stature, lang and small, even and brent up *; well instructed from his youth in all honest † and comely exercises." ‡ Elizabeth and Melville smiled at the effeminacy, perhaps also at the ignorance and incapacity, of the beardless stripling. But Mary, after a moment's displeasure, or affectation of it, at the presumption with which he offered himself, liked him better the more she knew him; which would have been more honourable to her if his attractions had been more refined, and if she had not remarked his animal beauties with too critical an eye. She determined to marry him. He betrayed partialities for the catholic party so imprudently as soon to rouse both the queen of England and the Scotch protestants against the union. Randolph, the English resident, cautiously insinuates his suspicions of Mary's rising passion to his court within a fortnight of Darnley's arrival. § Argyle, a zealous protestant, expressed great apprehension of Darnley's progress. Moray said that the match would be followed by unkindness to England, and was "the most sorrowful of men." || A rumour was prevalent that Moray was about to leave the court, displeased at the more open parade of catholic rites, which his prudence prevented so long as he enjoyed his sister's undivided confidence. ¶ My suspicions, says Randolph, on the 18th of April, are bitterly confirmed. Many with grief see the fond folly of the queen. The godly (the protestants) cry out, and think themselves undone. All good men see the ruin of their country in the marriage with Darnley. ** In this temper of all the Scotch friends of the English connection, Maitland, who arrived at Westminster on the same 18th of April, could

* Straight, even.—*Jamieson*. A word of difficult derivation.

† Becoming his station. Sir J. Melville, from early and long residence in France, complains that he had forgotten his mother tongue. "La comtesse sa mère lui ayant fait apprendre à jouer de luth, à danser, et autre honnêtes exercices."—*Castelnau*, liv. v. c. 12.

‡ Melville, 134.

§ MSS. State Paper Office. Randolph's despatch of 27th February. 1565: Darnley having arrived on the 13th.

|| Ditto, 15th March.

¶ Ditto, 17th March.

** Ditto, 7th April.—*Keith*, App. 159.

not expect much success in his errand, which was to desire the queen's consent to the marriage of his mistress. The English council were alarmed. On the 23d of April, letters were despatched to recal Lennox and Darnley from Scotland; and, on the 1st of May, resolutions were adopted by the privy council of the utmost importance; and which, notwithstanding their somewhat pedantic arrangement, with a sprinkling of rhetorical diction*, are not only admirable models of our ancient language, but pregnant proofs how high Cecil, who was the writer, ought to be placed among the first class of wise statesmen. They are remarkable also for a frankness and overflowing good faith, which avow all the motives of the actors without trusting any part of them to insinuation, and circuitous or ambiguous phraseology; and, as it should seem from their tenor, not leaving the most delicate matters to be cautiously hinted in conversation. The substance of this momentous determination was, that the marriage of the queen of Scots with lord Darnley would be dangerous to the protestant religion; that it would strengthen the league of catholic princes which now visibly threatened Europe; that it was big with peril to the title by which her majesty filled the English throne; that the performance of Mary's promise to renounce her pretension to England had been for nearly six years evaded; that, as nothing but force, or the fear of force, could then prevent the marriage, the whole council agreed that it was lawful and necessary to provide for the safety of England, by strengthening the fortifications and reinforcing the garrison of Berwick; that the wardens of the borders should be prepared at an hour's notice, either to defend their own frontier, or to invade Scotland. On the latter measure alone there was a difference of opinion, some being indisposed to actual warfare. When it became evident that Mary was resolved to cut short negotiation

* Determination of the privy council of England on the marriage of the queen of Scots, 1st May, 1565. Keith, 280.

Summary of the consultation of the privy council, 4th June, 1565. — Robertson's Appendix, No. X.

by hurrying on her marriage, Throgmorton was instructed, in case of a total failure of his attempts, to persuade the lords of the congregation, and all the Scottish protestants, to withstand the marriage, unless Darnley should promise to adhere to the reformed religion, which he had openly professed in England.*

In the mean time lord James Stuart, who had been created earl Moray, the undisputed chief of the reformed party, who had been prime minister to the queen his sister since her return from France, withdrew from court, as a testimony against an union fraught, in his judgment, with destruction to his country and to his faith. Seldom, in so turbulent a country as Scotland, ruled in the name of a young woman, and but just escaped from civil war, has any administration been conducted with such firmness, or has been attended with such signal success, as that which Moray guided during a critical period of four years. The reputation of Mary's government, we are told, was spread over all countries.† His firm and equal hand had reduced the highlands and borders to an obedience unknown for centuries to wild and lawless tribes. As the protestants entirely and justly trusted Moray's zeal for their religion, he was enabled to temper their fanaticism, and to prevent at least its breaking out into civil war. He appears to have conducted himself with spotless faith towards his sister, and to have obtained a degree of quiet which no other Scotsman could have ensured. The queen was not insensible of his fidelity, nor of the influence of his name. On the 8th of May, 1565, she commanded him to repair to her at Stirling, where, in Darnley's chamber, she earnestly besought him to subscribe a writing in which the marriage was recommended. She repeated her importunities for two successive days. She even appealed to him as a Stuart, and implored him to help her attempts to execute the will of their father, king James, whose earnest desire it was to keep the crown of

* Sir James Melville, 134.

† Sir James Melville, 130. He, who had lived so many years abroad, well knew the opinion of the continental nations.

Scotland on the head of a Stuart. He desired time to consider proposals thus urgently pressed, and alleged the unreasonableness of such a writing without an assembly of the peerage; adding, that he disliked the marriage, because he feared that Darnley would be an enemy of true Christianity. "Hereupon arose an altercation in which the queen gave him many sore words. He answered with humility, but nothing could be obtained from him."* In Mary's letter to Elizabeth which followed, says sir Nicholas Throgmorton †, "there neither wanted eloquence, anger, despite, nor passionate love." The banns of an ill-fated union were published on Sunday the 22d of July, 1565. Darnley was promoted, on the same day, to the princely dignities of duke of Albany and earl of Ross; and, on Sunday the 29th, the queen had the misfortune to indulge her headlong passion, by bestowing her hand on an undeserving favourite. The nuptials were solemnised according to the rites of the church of Rome; though Darnley withdrew during the celebration of mass. The English minister describes the insolence of the simpleton intoxicated by his triumph. "He rather seems to be a monarch of the world, than he whom we have seen and known as lord Darnley." ‡ Meanwhile Thomworth, a gentleman of Elizabeth's household, was despatched as her envoy to Edinburgh, with instructions to threaten Mary; if she should practise aught for the overthrow of the reformation in England, and to warn her more amicably against attempting to change the established church of Scotland. In the answer, it seems doubtful whether Mary offers a promise to abstain from promoting a religious counter-revolution in England; but, with respect to the alteration of religion in Scotland §, Mary only says, "that

* Keith's Appendix, 160. Knox, ii. 144. Edin. ed. 1814. Randolph's despatch of 8th May, 1565. MSS. Paper Office. The words in the text to which inverted commas are prefixed are those of Randolph.

† Despatch to Leicester, 11th May, 1565.

‡ Randolph, 31st July. Ellis, ii. 200.

§ Thomworth's instructions, 30th July. State Paper Office. Published with Mary's answer, but without dates, Keith's Appendix, 99. The answer contains no specific words about religion in England; but a note, without title or subscription, written on the same paper with the MS. is more explicit.

she has made no innovation, nor means to do any thing therein, but what shall be most convenient for the state of her majesty's self and her realm, and that by the advice of her good subjects ;" words so vague as to admit of any meaning which it might suit the Scotch queen to give them, and which seem to have been chosen to evade satisfaction to the protestants of Britain, rather than to abate their apprehensions or allay their just resentment. Thomworth was also instructed to expostulate with Mary on her displeasure against the earl of Moray ; which was answered by a desire that there might be no meddling in the internal affairs of Scotland. The dis-favour of that statesman concerned the peace between the two kingdoms, and the quiet of all British protestants, as essentially as treaties or laws. His ascendancy in the queen's councils was a pledge of friendship to England, of safety to the Scottish reformers, and of some moderation towards the catholics themselves. He alone was able to protect the tranquillity of his sister, by balancing the ascendant of Knox, and in some measure by mitigating the spirit of that upright, sincere, heroic, but stern and fierce, reformer.

The breach between the court and the late prime minister was a signal for the formation, or invention, or exaggeration of conspiracies, by each of the incensed factions against the other. Moray was charged with a plot to carry away the queen into England. The catholic lords were as loudly accused of a design to murder Moray. The protestant lords took up arms : but their unprepared and ill-concerted revolt was easily quelled ; and they were compelled to fly for refuge into England. Elizabeth had determined on withholding from them any aid which could afford a just cause for war. She even obliged the exiled lords to make disavowals of having been encouraged by her* : a species of disclaimer which passes, in the language of sovereigns, rather for apology than denial ; and which, therefore, they do not scruple to exact from their servants or dependent allies.

* Cecil to Randolph, 23d Oct. 1565. MS. State Paper Office.

In this case it was, doubtless, intended to dispose Mary to pardon them. Mary declared to Randolph, that she would rather lose half her kingdom than show mercy to Moray. * As no personal offence was alleged, this extravagant language can only be considered as a proof of her determination to take a part in that confederacy for the extirpation of protestantism between France and Spain, then called the Holy Alliance, which was formed at Bayonne in September, 1565, in the nightly interviews of the duke of Alva with Catherine de' Medicis. Randolph, in February, 1566, discovered that the queen of Scots had subscribed this league †; which was then compared, for the sweeping extermination which it threatened, to the famous massacre called ~~the~~ Sicilian Vespers; and of which Alva sufficiently showed that it spared no station, by coolly saying, that it was childishness to fish for frogs, when a single salmon's head was worth thousands of them. This treaty was sent from Paris by two messengers: by Thornton, from the archbishop of Glasgow, Mary's minister; by Clernau, from her uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine. She was to retain a copy of it; but to return the original, subscribed with her own hand, by a messenger of her own, named Wilson. De Villemonte, another messenger, was sent to her shortly after, to stay her from agreeing with the banished lords, "because that all catholic princes were banded to root the heretics out of all Europe; which unhappy message hastened forward divers tragical accidents." §

Mary, however, needed not these incentives. The cardinal of Lorraine had, nearly three years before, made known her disposition and determination to the representatives of the whole catholic church. On the 10th of May, 1563, that prelate read her letters to the council of Trent, in which she professed her submission to the

* Randolph to Elizabeth, 8th Nov. 1565. MS. State Paper Office. It is clear, from the dates of the two despatches, that Mary's passionate language was an answer to the application which accompanied the particulars of Moray's submission or disavowal.

† Randolph to Cecil, 8th February, State Paper Office; and Keith's Appendix, 167.

§ Melville, 147.

authority of the sacred assembly, and promised, if she succeeded to the throne of England, that she would subject both kingdoms to the apostolic see.* It appears that, at a still earlier period, in autumn 1562, she secretly excited the insurrection of the earl of Huntly, that he might take her out of the hands of Moray, by whom she was accompanied†: the catholic insurgents carried their hostilities so far as to oblige her to vanquish them in battle, and to consent to the execution of some of their leaders. The earl of Huntly was himself trampled to death in the decisive battle of Corrichie. One of his sons was executed at Aberdeen three days after. George earl of Huntly, the next son, was convicted of treason: but, after three years' imprisonment, was released from confinement, and raised to the office of chancellor, without waiting for a reversal of his attainder; as if to proclaim more loudly the impatient eagerness of the queen to manifest her enmity to her protestant subjects. This unfortunate princess had been advised by her uncles to treat Huntly as the most powerful among the catholics; and, at the time of the insurrection, to hold out hopes of her hand to John Gordon, his second son. On her journey northward on that occasion, when solicited to suppress the Roman catholic worship, she angrily answered, that she hoped, before a year was expired, to have the mass restored through the whole kingdom.‡ The indiscretion which thus alarmed the Scottish people and the English government peculiarly unfitted her to be the tool of the subtle

* Fra. Paolo. lib. 7. Pallavic. c. xx. c. 16. Wherever the cardinal describes the same event with Fra. Paolo without contradicting him, so acute, unwearied, rancorous, and well informed an opponent must be understood as assenting to all he does not deny.

† Sir R. Gordon's History of the Earls of Sutherland, 140.

‡ Archbishop Spottiswood, 185. The shades by which Huntly's enterprise against Moray, (whom it was intended to murder if he had been inveigled into a visit at Strathbogie, the principal seat of the Gordons,) grew into an open rebellion against the queen, are curiously indicated in the narrative of the protestant primate. Of the neighbouring clans, the Frasers and Munros had immediately joined the royal army, when the Gordons refused to surrender the castle of Inverness to the summons in the queen's name. The clan Chaltan, who were among Huntly's followers, did not forsake him till it became more apparent that his resistance was against the queen's authority. — Spottiswood, 186.

and embroiled project which had been suggested to her in France, where she had been advised to affect a confidence in the earl of Moray, and not to lay aside the mask until the European confederacy should be ready to co-operate; while she was also warned never to cut off all ties with the catholics, her only assured friends. She had learned, in the school of Catherine de' Medicis, to dissemble deeply for a short time, and an immediate object: but the qualities of her sex, and the habits of her station, rendered long dissimulation painful, and disposed her to yield to the impulse of every momentary passion. Her sallies, generally pointed and animated, were circulated among the people, who considered them as proofs that all she did for the protestants was intended to deceive them, and felt towards her that bitter anger which was inspired by an insult to their understanding, which she hoped to dupe by her hypocrisy.

Another incident embroiled the affairs of Scotland. David Rizzio, a Piedmontese musician, who had come to Edinburgh in the train of the minister from Savoy, having been introduced into the palace as a performer in the royal band, soon ingratiated himself with the queen, and was appointed to be her private secretary. The ease with which he wrote French (the principal qualification for his office), seems originally to have recommended him to the appointment. He promoted Darnley's marriage; and, whether actuated by his own zeal, or prompted by advice from the princes of Lorraine, contributed to the re-establishment of the catholic party in power. He obeyed the instructions of the house of Guise to counteract the interposition of England for the banished lords. Darnley's subscription was engraven on a signet, the custody of which was delivered to this upstart alien, with leave to employ it.* "David," says Randolph, "now worketh all, and is governor to the king."† To every man intoxicated by sudden elevation,

* Knox, book v. edit. Edin. 1814, li. 176.

† Randolph to Cecil, (taken without reference by Chalmers, i. 214.) "David is he that now worketh all, chief secretary to the queen of Scots, and only governor to her good man." — 3d June, 1565. State Paper Office MSS.

much of his enjoyment depends on the parade of his promotion. Rizzio gave general offence by his insolent display of favour. He affected to show writings to the queen, and to whisper in her ear, at levees crowded with the nobility. Even Moray himself "sued David earnestly, and more humbly than could be believed, with the present of a fair diamond," to obtain restoration from exile.* When the queen desired Melville to befriend David, he urged her to pardon the lords; and observed to her, that there was danger from unhappy reports of which she could not be ignorant.† The mention of these reports was followed by a conversation with Rizzio in which Melville, with his accustomed frankness, warned that minion of his peril. But Rizzio disdained counsel, and despised danger. Jealousies of every sort tore asunder Darnley's disordered mind. He was conscious of having disgusted the queen by intoxication, and the brutal language which it pours forth. Though utterly incapable of the conduct of affairs, he could not brook the insignificance to which he thought himself reduced by the unbounded favour of Rizzio. A jealousy of a lower kind, whether grounded on scandalous rumours, or whispered by designing men, or suggested by his own grossness, began to haunt and torment a mind conscious of offences against Mary, and prone to ascribe to the impulse of passion every mark of favour shown by a woman towards a man.

The lords of the council, in the beginning of 1566, were Huntly, Bothwell, and Athol; all either catholics or favourers of the catholic party. They, with the effectual aid of Rizzio, dissuaded Mary from yielding to the entreaties of Elizabeth, or to the prudent counsel of Melville, which concurred in exhorting her to pardon so powerful a body of nobles as those who were then exiles in England. The banished lords, who had taken up arms on the principle of resisting the queen's marriage unless their religion was established by law, required the ratification of the acts of the convention of 1560, by an

* Melville, 147.

† Ibid. 140.

undisputed parliament, to secure to the reformed church the privileges which it had practically enjoyed for six years, under those acts of that assembly of the estates which were obliged to be irregular. The leaders who had taken refuge in England were the duke of Chastellherault, the earls of Moray, Glencairn, and Rothes, the lords Boyd and Ochiltree, with ten of those considerable landholders called lairds,—a term which agrees with the English lords, though slightly varying in pronunciation and writing,—who at this time sat in parliament only as commissioners from the inferior barons, but who still differed from the peers more in privilege than in honour.* These gentlemen, the best of their time, were joined by the interest of the reformation in unnatural union with the worst offspring of civil confusion,—with Morton, a profligate though able man; with Ruthven, distinguished even then for the brutal energy with which he executed wicked designs; and with the brilliant and inconstant Lethington, admired by all parties, but scarcely trusted by any: for in the measures of all numerous bodies, and especially in those seasons of commotion and peril which render every succour welcome, the good are often compelled to endure the co-operation of the bad. In this case the exiled lords, of whom many were as irreproachable as the corrupting power of intestine war will suffer men long to continue in that unhappy condition of society, must not be held to be guiltless, even though the most deplorable part of the scenes which ensued should be directly ascribed to the known depravity of their associates, or to the accidents which usually attend lawless broils. The earl of Lennox was indignant that the influence of his son should be eclipsed by the favour of Rizzio. Darnley himself betrayed symptoms of being goaded by passions more clamorous and rancorous than political jealousy. Lennox advised him to sacrifice his antipathies, and to seek the means of revenge in a coalition with the protestant

* See Jamieson on the word, for the exact agreement of *laird* with the English word *lord*. It afterwards denoted a landholder who held of the crown, but was not knighted. I doubt this last limitation, though adopted by the learned lexicographer.

lords.* Darnley accordingly, on the 10th of February, sent Douglas, his uncle, to lord Ruthven, to complain that Rizzio had abused the king in many sorts, and done him wrongs which could no longer be borne. Ruthven, fearful that the blandishments of the queen might extort secrets from her simpleton husband, refused to answer. "It is a sore case," said Darnley, "that I can get no help against this villain David." "It is your own fault," replied Douglas; "you cannot keep a secret." Then the king swore on the Gospel that he would not betray Ruthven. That crafty assassin still seemed to hesitate: but this hesitation ceased when he obtained Darnley's assent to a treaty with the banished lords, in which he promised to obtain for them a general amnesty, and the continuance of the reformed religion; and they agreed to be the friends of his friends and the enemies of his enemies, including, as an object guaranteed by the agreement, his right of succession as next heir after the queen or her progeny.† Before the final conclusion, Darnley was obliged to quiet the apprehensions of the murderers by a written instrument; a sort of effrontery seldom known but in the history of that fierce age, in which, after declaring the necessity of cutting off and slaying certain persons who had abused her majesty's confidence, Darnley binds himself ‡ to keep them "scathless" § for the execution of David in the queen's presence, or otherwise to protect them, declaring that what was done was his own device and invention. This writing (which, perhaps more explicitly than any other known document, avowed its object to be murder,) was subscribed on the 1st of March; and on Saturday the 9th of the same month, between seven and eight o'clock in the evening, in the palace of Holyrood House, it was carried into execution. Perhaps it was hastened by the impatience and importunity of Darnley, as well as by the approach of the parliament, which was summoned to meet on the 12th, for the attainder of the lords.

* Spottiswood, 194.

† Keith, Appendix, 120, 121.

‡ Cotton. Lib. Calig. b. ix. 211. 1st March, 1566. ♣

§ Harmless.

Darnley conducted Ruthven and other assassins through his private staircase, by the use of his own key, into a small room where the queen was at supper with Rizzio, her natural sister the countess of Argyle, and some other favourites. Ruthven rose from a sick bed, to which he had been for three months confined by a painful, and, as it soon proved, a mortal, illness. He was now in armour; though he could only come into the apartment by the support of two men. The paleness of his haggard countenance, sometimes flushed by guilty passions, formed a gloomy contrast with the glare of his helmet. Rizzio had his cap on his head as Ruthven entered; and Darnley hung on the queen's chair with his hand round her waist. That unhappy lady was in the sixth month of her pregnancy by her contemptible husband. Ruthven called to her—"Let Rizzio leave this privy chamber, where he has been too long."—"It is my will he should be here," said the queen. "It is against your honour," answered Darnley. "What hath he done?" said the queen. "He hath offended your honour," replied Ruthven, "in such a manner as I dare not speak of." The queen rose up; and David ran behind her, laying hold of the plaits of her gown. Ruthven lifted up the queen, and placed her in the arms of Darnley, who disengaged Rizzio's hands from the hold which he had taken of her garments. Several persons here rushed in, and overset the table with the supper and lights. Rizzio was pushed out to the antechamber; at the front of which he fell under fifty-five wounds, in one of which Darnley's dagger was found, whether employed by himself or by one of his accomplices is neither certain nor important. Ruthven is said to have aimed a stab at the victim over the queen's neck. He seated himself, and called for a cup of wine, which drew a spirited reproof of his familiarity from Mary. He appealed to his illness as an excuse. Though worked up by the contemplation of a crime into a ruffianly paroxysm of distempered vigour, he speedily relapsed into the feebleness incident to his malady. He expired about two

months afterwards. He left behind him a narrative of his crime, written in a tone of undisturbed impartiality; and it does not appear that his last moments betrayed a glimpse of natural compunction.

During the tumult the queen remained for a long time in the closet, interceding for her favourite, who was probably then dead. She asked her husband how he could be the author of so foul an act. The récrimination was too coarse for historical relation. "It was," he said, "as much for your honour as for my own satisfaction."* The nature of her defence; her retort on Ruthven; her loathsome assent to Darnley's desire of resuming all the usual exterior of living together, with her backwardness and her evasions about such intercourse after such a scene, are conclusive and disgusting proofs that the highest-born beauties of the court of Catherine de' Medicis threw but a thin veil over their frailties, and deported themselves with so little delicacy as to render jealousy somewhat excusable, however ungenerous or unwarrantable. After this offensive conversation, she sent one of her ladies to learn the fate of Rizzio. The lady quickly returned with tidings that she had seen him dead. The queen, with a spirit that never forsook her, said, "No more tears; I must think of revenge." She wiped her eyes, and was never seen to lament the murdered man.

To complete the narrative of an event sufficient to dishonour a nation, and to characterise an age, it may be added, that the earl of Morton, lord chancellor of Scotland, commanded the guard who were posted at the

* "This we find for certain, that the king had entered into a vehement suspicion of David having committed something which was most against the queen's honour, and not to be borne by her husband." — *Letter from Bedford and Randolph*, 27 Mar. ii. Ellis, 208. "Marie Stuart reine d'Ecosse avait un beau mari, et delectabatur turpibus adulteris. Lorsque j'y étois, elle étoit eu mauvais menage avec son mari, à cause de la mort de ce David. L'histoire de Buchanan est très vraie: elle ne parloit point avec son mari. C'étoit une belle créature!" — *Scaligerana*, 149. From the mention of *Mausolus* in the despatches, it is clear that Castelnau was the ambassador whom Joseph Scaliger accompanied. The universal prevalence of these rumours, the only circumstance for which they are quoted, is confirmed by the language of the accurate Dutch historian, Van Metteren, who resided, during a great part of his life, in England. "Henri par jalousie fit ôter de sa table et massacrer David Rizzio, musicien Piedmontois, qui étoit dans la bonne grace de la Roynie." — *Metteren, Hist. de Pays Bas*, liv. iii. p. 266.

entrances of the palace to protect the murderers from interruption.*

Bothwell and Huntly, the most obnoxious of the catholic ministers, made their escape in the night of the murder. On Monday the 11th the banished lords came to Edinburgh. On the entrance of Moray into the palace, Mary embraced and kissed him, declaring "that if he had been at home, he would not have allowed her to be so discourteously handled; which so moved him that the tears fell from his eyes."† She informed the archbishop of Glasgow, that "Moray, seeing our condition, was moved by natural affection towards us."‡ The attractions of Mary prevailed over the fidelity of Darnley towards his accomplices: she obtained the discharge of the guard, under the specious pretext of showing the liberty of the king and queen after their hearty reconciliation. He was content to disavow in public whatever he had written or sworn; and she carried him towards Dunbar, after stealing out of Holyrood House at midnight. The particulars of the remainder of this year belong to the historians of Scotland. To us only pertains such an account of them as may explain the policy of England; of which, however, the ascendant of the protestant party in Scotland continued to be the main object. The birth of a prince on the 19th of June was deemed by Moray and Castelnau an event sufficiently auspicious to revive § the habits of conjugal intercourse between the queen and her husband; the reconciliation

* The principal contemporary accounts of the murder of Rizzio are Knox, Buchanan, and Melville, together with the despatch from Bedford and Randolph at Berwick (printed by Dr. Robertson in his appendix, and by Mr. Ellis in his letters); the letter written on the 2d of April in the queen's name to the archbishop of Glasgow, the minister at Paris, (Keith, 330—384.); and the narrative sent to Elizabeth by Morton and Ruthven from Berwick, in the latter end of April, (Keith's App. 119. 129.) which appears in Keith without subscription or address, but was probably the same which is referred to as about to be sent in a despatch of the 2d of April, State Paper Office MSS. The materials for the greater part of it must have been supplied by Ruthven. Nothing that can extenuate his conduct is therefore admitted into the text. Neither is any thing taken from the beautiful narrative of Buchanan, though it was so solemnly confirmed by that great man on his death-bed. No part of it rests on Knox, though he was a man that never lied.

† Melville, 150.

‡ Keith, 332.

§ Cecil's Diary, Cal. b. ix. 217. and Keith's App. 169.

was, however, only apparent; the just indignation of Mary against Darnley continually broke out. "I could perceive nothing," said Melville, "but a great grudge that she had in her heart. He moves about alone; few dare to bear him company."

The unpopular influence of Bothwell increased: he, with Huntly and the bishop of Ross, laboured to undermine the reviving ascendant of Moray, the sole stay of public quiet. Darnley complained to his wife that he was not trusted with authority; that no one attended him; and that the nobility shunned his society.* "Bothwell," says Killigrew, the new English minister, "is thought, and said, to have more credit with the queen than all the rest. Leslie, bishop of Ross, doth manage all her state affairs."† Such was the displeasure of the contemptible youth, her husband, that, in his despair, he conceived the wild project of leaving Scotland; and had actually prepared a vessel to convey him to the continent, either to appeal to the compassion of foreign princes, or to escape from the odium which surrounded him.‡ On the 5th of August the earl of Bedford informed Cecil, that "the king and queen agree worse than before. She eateth seldom with him, and does not keep company with him; nor loveth any such as love him. It cannot, for the sake of modesty, nor consistently with the honour of a queen, be reported what she said of him."§ On the 15th of September he came to the queen at Edinburgh, to make known to her his chimerical scheme for leaving Scotland: he refused to enter, because he found that she was in council with three or four lords. She, however, condescended so far as to meet him without the palace, and conducted him to her own apartment, where he passed the night. After much conversation, in which he denied that he had any discontent, he said, "Adieu, madam; you shall not see my face for a long time." A

* Keith, 350.

† 24th June, 1566, MSS. State Paper Office.

‡ Privy council of Scotland to the queen mother of France. Edinb. 8th Oct. 1566. Lecroc to archbishop of Glasgow, 15th Oct. 1566. Jedburgh. Keith, 345, 350.

§ Robertson's App. xvii.

project so absurd died out of itself. Meantime, Mary gave suspicious marks of her partiality for Bothwell, in the course of journeys towards the borders, of which he was warden. That lord being wounded in one of the accustomed affrays by a border laird named Elliot, the queen made a journey of twenty miles on horseback to visit him; and returned on the same day to Jedburgh, where the assizes were held. It was then generally suspected that her visit was prompted by passion, and her return hastened by shame. On the 17th of October, the day after her return, she was seized with a dangerous fever in consequence of her violent exertion. Bothwell came to her as soon as he could travel. "Darnley followed her about," says Melville, "wherever she went; but he could get no good countenance."*—"As soon," says a contemporary writer, "as he understood her visitation, he addressed himself with expedition towards her, although he was not welcomed as was fit."†

The queen, on her recovery, went to Craigmillar Castle, near Edinburgh, in November, where she showed such marks of despondency and depression as often to cry out, "I wish that I were dead."‡ The lords who attended her had so little doubt of the source of this despairing language, that they proposed to her their assistance in obtaining a divorce. In answer to Lethington she said, that she might consider such a proposition, if it were to be carried on lawfully; and without prejudice to the rights of her son. "Think not," said Lethington, "that we, your principal nobles, would not find the means to be quit of him without damage to the prince; and though my lord of Moray be little less scrupulous

* Melville, 173.

† Historie of James VI. 4th ed. Edin. 1825. Crauford of Drumsoy, historiographer of Scotland in the reign of queen Anne, had so falsified this work, to suit the politics of a Stuart reign, as to render his publication of it in all important particulars a forgery; which was indeed intimated by Keith, and almost owned by Whitaker; but was first completely detected by my excellent friend, Mr. Laing. Mr. Chalmers's observations on the delay of a few days in the journey to Hermitage are very satisfactorily obviated by the account of this writer. "Understanding the certainty of this accident, she was so highly commoved in mind, that she took no repose in body till she saw him." p. 2.

‡ Le Croc, Disp. 2d Dec. 1566. Keith's pref. vii.

for a protestant than your grace is for a papist, I am sure he will look through his fingers to our doings, saying nothing to the same." * The queen hinted at scruple and reluctance. Lethington concluded,—"Let us guide the matter, and you shall see nothing but what is approved in parliament." This conversation was natural, if applied in its literal meaning to a legal divorce, which it was commonly believed that Thornton had been sent by the queen to solicit at Rome.† That it related solely to such a proceeding, is apparent from the number of persons who were present; from the scruples spoken of, as founded on two opposite systems of religion; and from the reference to a parliamentary ratification. It was necessary, for the honour of the queen, that the proposition to which she patiently listened, and to which she annexed serious conditions, should have been in its nature innocent. Mary's objection to a legal divorce was, by either system of religion, very forcible: for, on catholic principles, there could hardly be any dissolution of marriage except as a consequence of a sentence pronouncing its original nullity, which would bastardise the prince; while, according to the creed of the Scottish reformers ‡, a divorce, allowing the innocent party to marry, was scarcely allowed; and the capital punishment of the offender was proposed as a preferable remedy. The reference to parliament demonstrates that a legal divorce only was contemplated at Craigmillar, and indeed it is not credible that men of sound mind, however depraved, should, so soon after a hurried and superficial reconciliation, trust each other so far as to consult together about a project for the most hazardous of murders. In order to make Moray a party to a black project, blind zeal has represented this conversation as a proposal to put Darnley to death, without adverting to the improbabilities now mentioned, and without considering that such a supposition brings on the queen the imputation of having patiently listened to a plan for the murder of her husband.

* Keith's App. 138. This is the account laid by the queen's friends, Huntly and Argyle, before Elizabeth.

† Randolph to Cecil, 25th April, 1566. Robertson's App. xvi.

‡ Knox's Confession of Faith, 1560, article "Marriage." Spottiswood, 172.

But the conversation at Craigmillar, though it did not contemplate violence, is a decisive proof of the daring hopes of Bothwell, and of the irrecoverable alienation of the queen from her undeserving husband. On the 2d of December, Le Croc despairs of a good understanding between Darnley and Mary, without a special interposition of Providence. "The king," says he, "will not humble himself enough; and the queen cannot see a single nobleman speak to him without suspecting a contrivance."* The baptism of the young prince was performed at Stirling on the 17th day of December, with due solemnity and magnificence, before the earl of Bedford, who was sent by Elizabeth, and the count de Brienne, who was chosen by Charles IX., to represent their sovereigns at this august ceremony, which deeply interested nations. Darnley alone, though mocked with the royal title, was excluded from the christening of his son, by the discouraging treatment which he received from the queen, and the universal alienation of the nobility: he desired an interview with Le Croc three times on the day of the baptism; but Le Croc answered, that, "seeing he was in no good correspondence with the queen, the ambassador was instructed by the most Christian king to have no conference with him."†

While Darnley was thus degraded in the eyes of his country and of Europe, — while he was treated as one who had forfeited the outward distinctions of a husband and a father, to say nothing of his dignity as a titular king, — Bothwell had been chosen to receive the two ambassadors, and to direct the ceremonial of the christening; a choice which displeased the nobility.‡ Darnley left Stirling privately, and without taking leave of the queen, on the evening of the 24th of December, to take shelter from such public affronts in his father's house at Glasgow. At the same time, Mary passed the festive season of

* Le Croc evidently ascribes the estrangement as much, at least, to the queen as to Darnley.

† Le Croc's despatch, 23d Dec. 1566.

‡ Sir John Foster to Cecil, 4th Dec. 1566. Robertson's App. xvii.

Christmas at Drummond Castle and Tullibardine, the residences of two noble families in the neighbourhood. On hearing that her husband was attacked by the small-pox, she sent her physician to him.* The visit which she at length made to him occurred at a remarkable moment. Her first known separation from Bothwell was in the end of January, 1567. About the 20th of that month, we learn from lord Morton's dying confession, that Bothwell went to Whittingham, and proposed to Morton to take a part in the murder of the king; which Morton refused without a written order of the queen, from whom Bothwell alleged that he had a verbal authority to propose this crime.† On the 20th of January, Mary speaks to her minister at Paris of her husband in the following terms:—"For the king our husband, God knows our part towards him, and his behaviour and *thankfulness* are likewise well known to God and the world: our subjects see it, and in their hearts doubtless condemn it."‡ Within a day of writing this letter Mary went to Glasgow, to persuade her husband to accompany her to Edinburgh, necessarily with the appearance of perfect reconciliation, and probably with those professions of affection which, in so close a relation, were necessary to obliterate all the angry remembrances of a long and apparently eternal quarrel. It may be doubted whether there be any instance of heartfelt forgiveness by a proud and beautiful queen, who had suffered such indignities as Darnley poured on her during the murder of Rizzio. But if she abstained from retaliation, and had silenced vindictive passion, the merit of her magnanimity would be rather tarnished than brightened by an affectationth of tenderness for the assassin of her minister and the slanderer of her own honour. Such forgiveness was rendered more difficult by the innumerable proofs of displeasure which seemed so many public pledges of her steadiness. If she ever remitted her dissatisfaction; it seems only to have been when she had a purpose to serve. Within a few

* There was then only one medical practitioner in Scotland.—*Scaligeranus*, 236.

† State Trials, i.

‡ Keith.

weeks of the day when the French minister pronounced her resentment to be inflexible, she gave marks of reconciliation. If she was really reconciled, the striking appearance of hypocrisy in her conduct render her the most unfortunate of women ; if she feigned reconciliation for sinister ends, it must be owned that her fault had no extenuation, and that the only excuse for speaking of her in lenient language must be found in the glimpse of her succeeding misfortunes which shoots across the story of her transgressions, and checks the pen about to relate them in more adequate language.

On the 31st of January, 1567, Mary brought her husband to Edinburgh. Representing Craigmillar as too distant, and Holyrood House as too noisy a dwelling for an invalid, she placed him in a lone house, called the Kirk of Field, situated in the fields to the southward of the city, not far from the spot which the south-east angle of the university now occupies. After his arrival, Darnley (says sir James Melville) suspected that the earl of Bothwell had some enterprise against him.* Here Mary paid him frequent visits; and caused a bed-chamber to be fitted up for herself under his apartment, where she sometimes slept.

On the evening of Sunday the 9th of February, being attended by Bothwell and other courtiers, she remained there till after ten o'clock, when she returned to the palace to be present at a masque given on occasion of the marriage of Margaret Carwood, one of her attendants, to Bastien, a French servant. Between two and three o'clock the inhabitants of Edinburgh, then a small town, were suddenly awakened by a tremendous shock, as it seemed to them, of thunder and earthquake. As soon as the day dawned, it was discovered that the king's house had been blown up, and his body carried to a little distance from it, where it was found without any external marks of violence.†

* Melville, 174.

† The first account ascribed the death of Henry to the explosion, (letter of Mary to the archbishop of Glasgow, 11th Feb. 1567. Keith, pref. viii.) It was afterwards thought more probable that he was suffocated, and

On the 10th the privy council published a proclamation, offering a reward of 2000*l.* sterling to any one who could discover the murderers. In six days after, a bold placard was affixed on the walls throughout the city, charging the murder on Bothwell and those among his followers who were afterwards ascertained to have shared his guilt, and expressly accusing the queen as having been a party to this deed of blood. The privy council required the accusers to come forward. The anonymous writer was James Murray*, a brother of sir William Murray, of Tullibardine; and he replied, in a second placard, that he was ready to appear on the following Sunday, with four witnesses, if the money were deposited in safe hands, and if Bastien and Joseph Rizzio were apprehended and committed to prison: so general and immediate was the outcry against Bothwell, and so early did it extend to Mary. The council did not choose to risk an answer. The earl of Lenox wrote a letter to Mary demanding the trial of the murderers of his son almost on the same day with Murray's second placard; and soon after desired that a meeting of the nobility and of the other estates should be held at the time of the trials. On the 17th of March, after an evasive and unfriendly correspondence, Lenox required the apprehension of Bothwell, with his partisans Balfour, Chalmers, and Spence; to whom were added three of the queen's servants, Bastien, Bordeaux, and Joseph Rizzio, the brother of David. On the 24th, she answered this letter unsatisfactorily, passing over in silence the requisition to commit the accused, and informing Lenox that the trial was to be held on the 12th of April; which was accordingly done fourteen days after, in an age when it was the common course to give forty days' notice to all parties

carried out before the explosion; which was designed to conceal the manner of his death. Mr. Hume inclines to the former opinion, which has the difficulty of supposing that a body thrown on the ground by such a shock should have received no outward hurt. On the other hand, it does not seem that the explosion could conceal the suffocation, or indeed answer any purpose. Perhaps the most reasonable explanation is, that some part of what is attributed to deep design ought to be ascribed to the confusion incident to a criminal enterprise.

* James Murray, of Purdoves. — *Douglas Peer. of Scotland* (Wood's ed.), 1. 146.

of a trial for treason. A fortnight was thus left to a father to prepare for the prosecution of the assassins of his son; while Bothwell, the known leader of these assassins, sat in the council which appointed the day of trial*, and lived openly in the residence of the queen, whether at Seaton or at Edinburgh. Her servants, who were publicly charged as his accomplices, were at large in the palace: there seemed little hope of even a semblance of justice in a prosecution thus hurried on against culprits so powerful or so protected.

Yet Mary was not left without warning: her faithful servant, archbishop Beaton, in a letter to her from Paris, on the 9th of March (which must have been before her when she fixed the collusive trial) addressed her in language of affectionate fervour, to the following effect:—“Madam,—You are wrongfully calumniated as the prime mover of all the evil done in Scotland, which is said to be by your command. From what your majesty writes to me yourself, I can conclude nothing but that, since God has preserved you to take a rigorous vengeance, if it be not actually taken, it appears to me better in this world that you had lost life and all. Alas! madam, all over Europe there is no subject so common as your majesty and your realm; and it is for the most part interpreted in the most sinister sense. I beseech you to establish that reputation which has hitherto prevailed of your virtue: otherwise I fear that this is but the first act of a tragedy; which I pray God to avert.”† Had it been possible that a woman of Mary’s understanding was only an instrument in the hands of her secret enemies, the honest voice of her faithful servant must have awakened her to a sense of her danger. The tidings of the murder were accompanied at London by the imputation of the crime to Bothwell.‡ The unexpected

* See the list of privy counsellors present on that day, in Anderson’s Collections, i. p. 50.; extracted verbatim from the records of the Scottish privy council.

† Keith, pref. ix., somewhat modernised, and with the omission of what seems unimportant.

‡ Cabala, 125. Cecil to sir Thomas Smith at Paris, 20th February, 1566.

reserve of Robert Melville, the Scotch envoy, excited suspicions among the English ministers. Cecil mentions to Norris, then at Paris, some days later, that the placards involved the queen, in language which the wary statesman held best to be suppressed.* “Common speech,” he adds, “touches Bothwell and Huntly, who remain with the queen;” and, on the 21st of March, he informs the same minister, that “common fame in Scotland continueth upon Bothwell, and the queen’s name is not well spoken of.”† On the 9th of March, Lenox so strongly felt his helpless situation as to implore the aid of Elizabeth, whom he had little reason to consider as a friend.‡ Elizabeth, when she discerned that there was an intention to defeat his just resentment by a pretended trial, and to consummate the dishonour of the queen of Scots by an ‘unhallowed marriage, addressed a letter to Mary, which does credit to the writer, and aggravates the guilt of her to whom it was written in vain:—“For the love of God, madam, exert your prudence and sincerity, so that the world may with reason clear you of a crime so enormous that, if you were guilty, it would degrade you from the rank of a princess. Speaking to you as I should to a daughter, I declare that I should rather prefer for you an honoured grave than a spotted life.”|| Nor was this all. Of Mary’s friends, the most experienced and sagacious was sir James Melville,—“true to his queen, but not a slave of state,”—who, of all the writers of that age, has made the nearest approach to impartiality. Though he was too honest to deny the queen’s share in the death of her husband, his conviction, which was proved sufficiently by his silence, did not extinguish his loyal attachment. He showed to her a letter from Bishop, one of her most zealous partisans in Eng-

* Cabala, 125. Cecil to sir Thomas Smith at Paris, 20th February, 1566.

† Ibid.

‡ His letter is in the State Paper Office.

§ The letter is written in French. The word rendered “degrade,” is “esboyer;” which, according to an ancient French dictionary, is derived from “boyaux,” and must have signified ejection, in a coarse sense. But how far its original grossness may have been mitigated by the usage of that age, it is impossible now to determine.

|| Elizabeth to Mary, after alluding to her letters by Le Croc about three weeks before, which, from the allusion, must have been of the same tendency, though perhaps less decisively expressed. Robertson’s App. xix.

land, in which it was said, "that it was rumoured that she was about to marry Bothwell, the murderer of her husband; which he could not believe, by reason of her noble wit and qualities. If she marries him, she will lose the favour of God, her own reputation, and the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland."*

Maxwell, lord Herries, a chivalrous loyalist, who kept the field for Mary in her most adverse and hopeless fortunes, at this crisis proved still more his inflexible attachment by the tender of wholesome and unacceptable counsel. Throwing himself at Mary's feet, he told her of the reports that Bothwell had murdered the king, and that she was about to marry the murderer; imploring her majesty to remember her honour and dignity, and the safety of the prince, which would all be in danger if she married the earl of Bothwell.†

The court of France saw so clearly her ruin approaching, that they despatched Villeroi to her to wean her from her passion for Bothwell, by the lure of other alliances. In spite of the unwonted frankness of Elizabeth's expostulations,—unmoved by the affectionate entreaties of Beaton,—untouched by the generous fidelity of Herries,—deaf to the sage counsel of Melville,—without regard to the general indignation of Scotland, England, and Europe,—she persisted in her pursuit with a headlong precipitation which only a frantic passion could beget, and which there are not many examples of the strongest passion having ever inspired. On the 12th of April the shameless mockery of Bothwell's acquittal was performed, after a protestation by the prosecutor that he had neither time to collect evidence, nor assurance of safety if he attended; the jury also protesting that they could not be answerable for their verdict if erroneous, inasmuch as no prosecutor appeared, and no witnesses were called. On the 14th (only two months after the murder), Bothwell bore the sword of state before Mary at the opening of parliament; which laboured to give popularity to the government by a general toleration of protestants, but at the same time deprived the

* Melville.

† Idem.

earl of Mar of the castle of Edinburgh, to place it in hands supposed to have been imbrued in Darnley's blood, and passed over in profound silence the murder of that unhappy man; whilst they made it an offence punishable with death to write or affix placards, defaming the queen: which last provision, after the reference of Lenox to the placards, was in effect an act of indemnity for the murder, and an edict of proscription against the prosecutors.*

Lenox, considering himself as no longer safe at home, fled for refuge into England. Moray, slow to resist his sister, and incapable of countenancing her desperate measures, obtained leave to go abroad. He went to France before the meeting of parliament; an unanswerable proof that he had then formed no ambitious designs, which, if he had harboured them, a sagacious man would never leave at the mercy of others, who might have employed his machinery for their own elevation. That he preferred France, notwithstanding the distance and the influence of the queen, to England, is also a conclusive circumstance; for in France he might have been detained by the Guisian princes, if they had deemed it necessary for the safety of their niece.

In the evening of the day of the dissolution, Bothwell, after supping with a considerable body of the nobility and gentry at a tavern, declared that the queen was desirous of an assurance from them that her marriage with him would be supported by her nobility.† In consequence of this declaration, which they considered as conveying the queen's command, the meeting subscribed a bond, by which they notified their consent to that union, and bound themselves to maintain it. The majority, who were of Bothwell's party, acted conformably to the interests of their faction: but the few protestants must have been biassed by a base fear, or a baser servility.

* The proceedings of this parliament in Act Parl. Scot. ii. 545—591.

† "Which letter he purchased (obtained), giving them to understand that we were content therewith."—*Keith*, 309. Instructions to bishop of Dumblane, ambassador in France.

Three days afterwards, Bothwell, at the head of 1000 horse, seized the queen on the road from Stirling, taking hold of her bridle, with a show of conducting her as a prisoner to the castle of Dunbar. Sir James Melville, one of her attendants, tells us that Bothwell's officer, who made him prisoner, alleged "that the whole was with her consent *;" a plain enough intimation of his own judgment, in a case where so indulgent a writer must have hinted a doubt if he had felt it. It was the universal opinion that "she patiently suffered herself to be led where her lover listed." † In fact, she offered no opposition, raised no impediment, uttered no complaint; though Huntly, Lethington, and Melville were brought with their mistress to Dunbar. "None doubted that it was done with her own liking and consent." ‡ On the 26th, while she was at Dunbar, proceedings for a divorce between Bothwell and lady Jane Gordon, whom he had espoused only two years before, were begun in the protestant court by lady Jane for his adultery, and in the archiepiscopal court by him for consanguinity without a papal dispensation. Both these fraudulent suits were hurried through in ten days. § A tale of personal violation was spread from Dunbar, to persuade the public that the queen was cut off from all honourable retreat. The proceeding for the divorce on account of adultery, formally at the instance of the lady Bothwell, was, with singular immodesty, commenced almost on the day which the queen specified as that on which she alleged that she was violated by Bothwell. In this manner did the consciousness of guilt betray persons of no common penetration into the accumulation of pretexts, the violation and the divorce,—of which the latter rendered the former superfluous, as to convert it into a wanton breach of the most vulgar decency. One honest man then appeared, who, in the midst of the general corruption and pusillanimity of

* Melville, 177.

† Hist. of James VI, 9.

‡ Spottiswood, 202. The last of these witnesses, who was primate and chancellor under her grandson, is of great weight. Whoever believes that the arrest and rape were simulated, can hardly refuse his assent to the imputation of the greater crimes to the queen.

§ Spottiswood.

Scotland, was doubtless a most unexpected impediment. John Craig, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, was commanded to publish the banns. His first objection was founded on the rumour that she was imprisoned and ravished by Bothwell. The justice clerk, who was second criminal judge of the kingdom, came to him "with a letter signed by the queen, declaring that she was neither ravished nor detained captive." The intrepid preacher nevertheless urged to the council the rape of the queen, and the suspicion of the king's murder, which this marriage would confirm. On occasion of his almost forced conformity, he declared from the pulpit, that "he abhorred and detested the marriage, as hateful in the sight of the world."* On the day of the nuptials (15th May), about three months after the murder of Darnley, one month after the pretended trial of Bothwell, and within nine days after his collusive divorce from a lawful wife, this marriage was solemnised, in virtue of banns which had been accompanied by a declaration from the clergyman who published them, that the union would be evidence of the wedded parties being accomplices in the murder of the husband of one of them. So headlong was the passion of the queen for Bothwell, who was a professed protestant, that she consented to wed him only by the rites of the reformed religion,—though she considered these rites as no more than badges of an adulterous union,—instead of having the marriage repeated according to the ceremonial of the catholic church, as she had done in her nuptials with Darnley.†

A casket containing a correspondence purporting to be carried on by Mary with Bothwell, which, if genuine, establishes her guilt, was said to be seized by the insurgents on the 20th of June, 1567. The genuineness of these letters, and their irresistible force as evidence against the queen, have been already demonstrated by Mr. Hume and Mr. Robertson, and most

* Archbishop Spottiswood, 203.

† Melville, 181.

of all by Mr. Laing, who, in the acuteness with which he employs the rules of historical criticism, is not inferior to either. The proofs of Mary's guilt are her own acts. It suffices here to observe, that these documents were seen at Edinburgh, at York, and at Westminster, by hundreds of persons, friends as well as foes to Mary, but most of whom knew her handwriting; and yet that proof of their forgery, which must have been easy, was then never attempted: that they relate to a succession of minute facts, multiplying beyond calculation the means of detecting imposture: that the letters only serve the purpose of an accuser by hints and allusions such as would be found in genuine correspondence, not by those clear and positive manifestations of guilt by which an eager partisan betrays his forgeries: that they are full of inimitable proofs of burning passion, of which the extreme grossness, in such an age, and from such parties, is rather a corroboration of their truth than a difficulty in the way of assenting to it.

There is a species of secondary, but very important, evidence relating to Mary's criminality, on which a few additional sentences may be excused. The silence of a contemporary like Castelnau, who was friendly to her, and who had opportunities of knowing the facts, is very significant. The silence of Melville, her personal attendant and confidential servant, whose brother attended her to her last moment; and of Spottiswood, her grandson's chancellor, and the head of the Scottish church, is still more conclusive; because it is accompanied by admissions, such as those regarding the pretended rape, which are irreconcilable with the supposition of her innocence, and evidently show that none of these respectable writers entertained any doubt of her guilt. The testimony of De Thou is, perhaps, the strongest instance among secondary proofs. The president De Thou is the most upright of historians. He was a tolerant catholic in an age in which all parties were

persecutors. No effort, no labour, and scarcely any reasonable expense, seemed to this conscientious historian too great a price for truth. He adopted, in the main, the narrative of Buchanan; which was doubtless, in some measure, recommended to him by the genius and eloquence of that illustrious man.* But he tells us himself that he had most diligently enquired of the catholic refugees from Scotland in France, who, in a manner decisive of the whole question respecting the queen, assured him that Moray, notwithstanding his fatal errors in religion, was a man without ambition or avarice; most averse to wrong others; distinguished by courage, gracious manners, active benevolence, and an innocent life.† In 1605, Camden, at the suggestion of James I., entered into a correspondence with De Thou, warning the historian of the necessity of circumspection in his narrative of Scottish affairs, and confirming his opinion that the king was incensed at his illustrious preceptor Buchanan. De Thou, with courageous honesty, answered, that he was unwilling to give needless offence, and wished to relate events simply without angry language: but that he deemed the concealment of truth to be as much a crime in an historian as the promulgation of falsehood; and that the calmest account of such a deed as the death of Darnley would, he feared, be as really offensive to the enemies of Buchanan as the eloquent relation of that great man.‡ As the representation of Camden had in no respect shaken the conviction of De Thou, the British monarch soon after employed an advocate of more fame to convert the obstinate historian. This was the famous Genevese Isaac Casaubon, one of the most celebrated scholars who had appeared since the revival of letters, on whom James bestowed the prebends of Canterbury and Westminster, with a pension, then

* *Thuan. Historiar. sui Temporis*, lib. xl. c. 13—24. "Acerbius hæc fortasse a Buchanano scripta et audio discipulum præceptoris ob id succensere, et tamen quia gesta sunt CITRA FLAGITIUM dissimulari non possunt." Thuan. to Camden, Feb. 1605. *Thuan. Historiæ Successus* apud Jac. I. art. v. in the supplementary (vith) volume of Carte's edition of Thuanus.

† Thuan. to Camden, Aug. 1606. Carte's Thuanus, vii. u. a

‡ Same to same, April 1605. Id.

enormous, of 200*l.* sterling. Casaubon began his approaches from a secure distance, immediately after his arrival in England. "The king declares that he prefers one Thuanus to many such writers as Tacitus."* Shortly after which he apprises his friend that the king was disturbed by the deviation from truth into which rebels and libellers had seduced De Thou in his account of Scottish affairs; and that, to remove the delusion of that historian, he had caused a true account of these events to be composed from authentic materials by sir Robert Cotton, which, when complete, should be sent to him at Paris.† In consequence of these communications and solicitations, which were continued by Casaubon and renewed by Camden almost to the death of De Thou, he appears to have proved his candour by suppressing some acrimonious passages which he owed to Buchanan; but he also proved his honesty by at last leaving his text in such a condition that no reader who forms his judgment from it, can doubt that Mary was an accomplice in the murder.

In perusing those parts of Camden's annals which relate to Scotland, it ought to be borne in mind, that the agent of James, in labouring to soften the sincerity of De Thou, must have composed his narrative of the reign of Mary under a strong temptation to suppress truth.

The remaining transactions in Scotland, which at this period form a part of English history, will not occupy a large space. The dominion of Bothwell lasted only a month, and involved in its fall the throne of his wife, thenceforward the most unfortunate of women. He endeavoured to possess himself of the person of the infant prince; but his guilty purpose was defeated by sir James Melville, who confirmed lord Mar, the prince's guardian, in his resolution to save his ward "from the hands of those who had slain his father," especially as Bothwell already boasted among his companions "that he should

* Casaubon to Thuanus, 16th Nov. 1610. Id. p. 12.

† Same to same, 22d Feb. 1611. Id. p. 14.

warrant the child from revenging his father's death." Melville persuaded Balfour, the governor of the castle of Edinburgh, not to part with it to Bothwell, but to join the lords, who had secretly confederated "to prosecute the murderer and to crown the prince." * Such was the prevalence of the rumours that Bothwell intended to murder the royal infant, that Mary was reduced to the dreadful necessity of disclaiming, in a solemn proclamation, such designs against her own child. On the 6th of June, Bothwell and the queen, to whom one of the confederated lords had revealed the intended revolt, fled from Holyrood House, and sheltered themselves in Borthwick Castle. The lords took possession of Edinburgh, supported by the people, in spite of the efforts of Mary's lieutenants. They published a proclamation against Bothwell and his adherents, charging him with "having made a dishonest marriage with the queen, after having murdered the king, and now gathering a force to cover his intended murder of the prince."

On the 15th of June, precisely a month after the marriage, the queen and Bothwell collected a small army, with few men of importance, at Carberry hill, within a few miles of Edinburgh. She issued a proclamation, offering land producing annually forty pounds to the slayer of an earl, half that sum for the head of a lord, and an estate of ten pounds by the year to him who killed a baron. † Dismay, the natural effect of an unpopular and odious cause, spread rapidly among men who, with all their vices, were strangers to fear. Le Croc vainly laboured to perform his usual part as mediator. On his assuring the lords of peace and pardon from the queen, the earl of Morton said, "that they would be satisfied with the punishment and removal of the murderer of the late king."—"As to pardon," said the earl of Glencairn, "we have not come here to ask pardon for any offence we have done, but rather to grant pardon to those

* Melv. 180.

† History of James VI., 14. Baron denoted inferior baron, *i. e.* landed gentleman.

who have offended."* Mary was never fearful, but she quickly apprehended her situation. She desired Bothwell to provide for himself, bidding him a farewell which proved to be everlasting. Distinguishing Kirkaldy of Grange, a warrior of some irregular generosity, from the others, she called to him, "Laird of Grange, I surrender myself to you, upon the conditions brought from the lords."† She gave him her hand, which he kissed, and, holding her bridle, he led her down to the lords, who conducted her in the evening to the house of the provost of Edinburgh. On her entrance she was assailed by reproaches and upbraided with crimes, in a manner, says Melville, "which was a pity." In the morning she saw a white flag before her window, on which were painted the corpse of her murdered husband lying under a tree, as it was found after his murder, and her infant son upon his knees, uttering these words, "Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord."‡ On the 16th of June she was committed prisoner to the castle of Lochleven, which seemed to be doubly secured by its position upon an island of that small lake, and still more by its being the castle of Margaret Douglas, the mother of the earl of Moray. She found means to expostulate with Kirkaldy on this breach of an agreement concluded by him. He excused his acquiescence in her imprisonment by quoting a letter written by her to Bothwell, in the night of her confinement at Edinburgh, intercepted by the lords, and shown by them to Kirkaldy, in which she called Bothwell "her dear heart, whom she should never forget nor abandon." In Kirkaldy's reply, he requested her to put Bothwell out of her mind, or else she would never get the love or obe-

* Keith, 401.

† Melv. 184. Her unworthy paramour had already made her feel how heavy the yoke of illicit love may be. "He was so beastly and suspicious that he suffered not a day in patience, causing her to shed abundance of salt tears."—Id. 182.

‡ The reader who peruses the eighteenth book of Buchanan's History will probably be surprised at finding that historians of the most opposite opinions have closely followed the narrative of that illustrious man, especially in his beautiful descriptions of memorable events; though, with their shame be it spoken, few of them own their obligations to their great master, and many repay them by wanton aspersions on his moral character.

dience of her subjects, "which made her bitterly weep, for she could not do so hastily."* Whatever doubts may be felt about this letter, of which Kirkaldy believed the genuineness (a testimony which seems to outweigh all difficulties), it is remarkably conformable to the tenour of her correspondence with sir Nicholas Throgmorton, the English minister, to whom she declared that "she would rather die than be divorced from Bothwell," for which she does indeed assign a reason^a founded on alleged regard to her honour; but it was probably a pretext, both from its own peculiar nature, and from her renouncing it on being pressed by Throgmorton so to do, in order to save her own life.† There were at that time four parties on the question how Mary was to be disposed of. The first proposed the restoration of the queen, with sufficient security for the revolted lords and the reformed religion, comprehending the punishment of all the murderers, and the effectual divorce of her majesty from the ringleader. The second proposed that Mary should quit the realm, to reside either in France or England, after having resigned the crown to her son, and appointed a regent during his minority. Both these parties were, however, weak; — the first, consisting of Lethington, nearly alone; — the second composed chiefly of the earl of Athol and his followers, strengthened by acquiescence rather than support from the earl of Morton: — the third, composed of the greater part of the counsellors, and many considerable persons in the country, required the coronation of the prince, and insisted on the trial and condemnation of the queen; but were contented with her perpetual imprisonment in the realm as a punishment for her misdeeds. The fourth demanded the infliction of capital punishment on her, as, in point of justice, the sole penalty commensurate to her crimes; and in point

* Melv. 185, 186.

† Throgmorton to Elizabeth. Edin. 18th July, 1567. Rob. App. xxii. In the same letter there is a passage unfavourable to Mary. "Of late the queen hath written a letter to the captain of Dunbar castle" (a fortress belonging to Bothwell), "which has been surprised, and thereby matter is discovered which maketh little for the queen's advantage."

of sound policy, because they doubted their own means of safe custody ; because they dreaded the interference of foreign princes ; apprehended the danger of factions among themselves, and feared evil from the compassion which long confinement might excite in the bosoms of the Scottish people.* Throgmorton maintained the prudence of the first plan, as being the only one which his own sovereign or the kings of France and Spain were likely to endure ; but he considered it as more prudent to plead, in his discussions with the statesmen, the divines, and scholars, for the more moderate of the two latter plans, which alone divided the country. He entreated them “ not to wipe away the queen’s infamy and Bothwell’s detestable murder by enormities on their side, and not to bring upon themselves the indignation of all Christendom, which had been hitherto fixed upon their adversaries.” He reminded them that there were no competent judges to try the queen, by whose authority all courts are holden, and all malefactors brought to justice ; that it was not possible to try her for a crime without being guilty of high treason, which was the greatest of crimes. He was answered, that in the case of monstrous enormities there must be extraordinary proceedings ; that if there were no written law against offences not to be expected, new punishments might be applied by the estates of the realm ; and they quoted examples from their ancient history, which, if not apocryphal, were justly considered by Throgmorton as rather practice than law. Knox preached in favour of the more rigorous measure, which he justified by examples from Jewish history. Buchanan (with a more enlarged soul) appealed to the generous principles of equal law and popular liberty ; but it was in support of a rigour to which these most noble principles are in themselves uncongenial.

On the 25th of July the queen was compelled, at Lochleven, by lord Lindsay, a rough emissary of the confederated lords, to subscribe three deeds ; by the first she was made

* Throgmorton to Elizabeth, 19th July, 1567. Keith, 420

to appoint seven noblemen to exercise the powers of government until the return of the earl of Moray, who, in case of his refusal of the regency, were to be continued in power; by the second she resigned her regal authority to her son; and by the third she appointed the earl of Moray to be regent of the realm on his arrival from France, and after his regular acceptance of that high office.

The messenger and the errand were harsh. But the insurgent lords, as they believed their cause of war against the queen to be just, and considered themselves as justified by necessity in proceeding to inflict that highest punishment which they regarded as due to her offences, viewed every measure which was short of that extremity as an act of lenity and a remission of perfect though rigorous right. Where they deemed themselves authorised to depose her, they did not conceive it to be unlawful to extort a resignation from her.

On the 29th of July the young prince was crowned at Stirling by the title of James VI. king of Scots. A warrant for the apprehension of Bothwell had been issued by the privy council a few days after the surrender of the queen and the seizure of her correspondence with him. But in the distracted state of the kingdom, the castle of Dunbar held out against the government till the end of September.* Bothwell had escaped in July to the Orkney and Shetland islands, which formed the dukedom bestowed on him by the queen. In the latter group of islands he hired some vessels in order to transport him to Denmark, whence he professed an intention to proceed to France. Kirkaldy of Grange and Murray of Tullibardine were despatched with four armed vessels in pursuit of him. They surprised and took four of his vessels in an inlet of the Shetland islands called Bressay Sound, while the masters and crew were on shore. Bothwell's own vessel and that which pursued her most closely both struck on a sunk rock, where the course of the latter was stopped, but the former escaped. The Scotch pursued him with the remaining three vessels

* Cecil to Norris, 9th October, 1567. Cabala.

in a running fight of about three hours, at the end of which time a cannon ball dismasted his best vessel. At that moment a heavy gale from the south-west drove him on the coast of Norway, where Oldburgh the captain of a Danish vessel demanded his passport. Bothwell alleged that on account of his unsuitable dress he was unwilling to discover himself, but gave the Danish officer to understand that in the hurry and peril of an escape from Scotland he had been unable to provide himself with foreign papers. Oldburgh having prevailed on the principal part of Bothwell's crew to come on board his own ship under pretence of furnishing them with provisions, he detained them in confinement, and summoned the peasants of the neighbourhood to aid in securing the vessels of certain freebooters, who navigated the Danish seas without authority from any prince or state. They were conducted prisoners to Berghem, where Rosencratz the viceroy of Norway, treated them with hospitality.* He was examined by Danish commissioners, before whom he appeared in the old torn and patched clothes of a boatswain; and being asked who he was, he answered that he was the husband of the queen of Scotland. They required his passport. He answered them with scorn, asking of whom he was to receive papers or credentials, being himself the supreme ruler of the land? It seemed extraordinary that, his vessel being armed and manned for fight, he should have no letters of marque, passport, or ship's papers; and as it appeared that his ship had before been commanded by one Daniel Cooth, a reputed pirate, the suspicions that he was himself a freebooter were increased. Soon after, however, a portfolio was found hidden in one of his vessels, containing his patent as duke of Orkney, proclamations of the Scottish government, offering rewards for his ap-

* The above narrative is taken from the statement made by himself to the Danish government on his arrival at Copenhagen, the original manuscript of which was lately discovered in the royal Swedish collection at Drottningholm. It is comprised in a publication entitled "*Les Affaires du Comte de Bothwell*," Edin. 1829, pp. 22—27.

prehension as a tyrannical robber and murderer, who had killed his king, together with a letter written to him with the queen's own hand, complaining of her own lot, and that of her friends.* In consequence, it should seem, of this new discovery, he was sent to Copenhagen, whence, on the 28th day of December, he was sent prisoner to Malmö, in the Swedish province of Schonen or Scania†, at that time part of the Danish dominions, where he died in a state of frenzy in 1576.‡ He whom Throgmorton in 1560 had styled "the vain-glorious, rash, and hazardous earl of Bothwell §," now closed his flagitious life by a death probably more horrible than that which public justice would have inflicted on him. The government of Scotland had claimed his surrender, that he might be brought to justice ||, and Elizabeth, as the ally of that government, seconded these requests.¶ The answers were evasive.**

Moray arrived from France about the 11th of August, and on the 15th, accompanied by Athol, Morton, Glencairn, Mar, Semple, Lindsay, and Lethington, visited his sister in her prison at Lochleven. She burst into tears at seeing him, and drew him aside from his companions; and from his account to Throgmorton †† of their secret conversation, it appears that he, who had then read the intercepted letters, and received exact information of all that had passed, was unable to resume that familiar frankness which was wont to prevail in their interviews. In a second interview, after supper, he plainly, and without disguise, discovered his opinion of her misgovernment, and freely laid before her the disorders which touched her honour and conscience. "Sometimes the queen wept bitterly, sometimes she acknowledged her misgovernment; some things she did confess plainly, some things she did excuse, some things

* From the Danish commissioners' report of Bothwell's examination. *Id.* Appendix, p. xxvii.

† *Les Affaires du Comte de Bothwell*, Appendix, p. xli.

‡ Thuan. Hist.

§ In a letter to Elizabeth of 28th Nov.

|| By letters dated 31st Sept.

¶ In 1569, 1570, and 1571. Laing, li. 323—340.

** *Ibid.*

†† Throgmorton to Elizabeth, 20th Aug. 1567. Keith, 444.

she did extenuate. In conclusion, he left her nothing save God's mercy." Next morning, "he used some words of consolation, saying that he would assure her of her life, and, as much as in him lay, of the preservation of her honour. As for liberty it lay not in his power, neither was it good for her to seek it, nor presently to have it. Whereupon she took him in her arms and kissed him."

Nor was this first impulse of her feelings unwarranted by reason. It became a brother to awaken her to a sense of her misdeeds, and it was the part of an adviser to discover to her the opinion entertained by all Europe of them. At that moment nothing could have been more dangerous to her than liberty. He appears never to have countenanced designs against her life; and he laboured with difficulty to spare her good name, until he was driven from that course by the duties of the supreme magistracy, and by the safety of the protestant party, of whom he was the chosen leader. "You will be put in peril," he said to her, "by attempts to escape; by practices against the quiet of the realm, and the authority of your son; by your exciting France or England to war against Scotland; and by your own persisting in the inordinate affection with the earl of Bothwell. You should show a disposition to detest your former life, to adopt a more modest behaviour, and to make it appear that you abhor the murder of your husband, and mislike your former life with Bothwell."* Mary, profuse in friendly professions, entreated Moray to accept the government. On the 22d of August, he was proclaimed regent of Scotland by order of the privy council. The proclamation professedly took for its basis the resignation of the crown, and the commission of regency executed by the queen; with somewhat of that politic regard for words and forms which was employed, perhaps excusably, in England, before and after, to give the colour of legality to a revolution.

The governments of England and France, desirous of

* Keith, 446.

avoiding the exposure of Mary's faults, and of restoring her to some decent appearances of authority, dreading the example of rebellion, and jealous of whatever touched the personal safety of princes, which seldom survives the outward show of their dignity, endeavoured to compose the Scotch disorders by expedients not offensive to moderate men of either party. Throgmorton, the English minister, and Lignerolles, the French ambassador, represented the necessity of enlarging the queen, and urgently desired to be admitted into her presence. They were told, in answer, that it had been found necessary to make an order that no foreigner should see her majesty till the apprehension of Bothwell; and that until that event her enlargement could not be taken into consideration.* In the discussions which occurred at this critical juncture, Lethington signalised his great powers of expression and insinuation, and spoke with as much eloquence as could be reconciled with the quiet of a diplomatic conversation:—"We are far," said he, "from meaning any harm to the queen. But at present she is no more to be satisfied than a sick person in an extreme disease is to be indulged in his inordinate appetites." We have been hitherto content to be called by foreign princes, and especially by the queen of England, traitors and rebels, ungrateful and cruel: all which we suffer, because we will not justify ourselves by proceeding in what might touch our sovereign's honour. But if this defamatory language should threaten to oppress us, we shall be compelled to deal otherwise with our queen than we intend, or than our neighbouring princes desire. We would rather endure the fortune of a war with you than set our queen at liberty in her present mood, when she is resolved to retain and strengthen Bothwell, to hazard the life of her son, and to confiscate the estates of the nobility." Throgmorton then appealed to Moray, who, having been abroad, was not responsible for the revolt and deposition. Moray answered,—"Sir Nicholas, I think you have heard reason from the laird

*to Elizabeth, 20th Aug. as above.

of Lethington. Though I was not here at the lords' doings, I must support them; and having taken on me the burden of the regency, which I should gladly have eschewed, I mean to employ my life in defence of that act, and will either reduce the nation under the king's authority, or it shall cost me my life."*

Elizabeth appears to have been at this moment on the brink of a rupture with her allies in Scotland. She proposed to the French government that, as open hostilities might endanger the life of Mary, England and France should interdict all traffic with the Scotch rebels and their abettors.† Cecil informed the English minister at Paris of his mistress's solicitude to avert the example of regicide, in terms so earnest as to indicate a compassionate regard to the personal safety of her kinswoman. "No counsel," Cecil complains, "*can stay her majesty* from manifesting her misliking of the proceedings against the queen of Scots, though I think the French may and will catch the lords, and make profit of them, to the disadvantage of England."‡ Eighteen months afterwards, she claims the merit of having resisted, for Mary's sake, the counsel of politicians, in a letter to that princess herself, with little delicacy indeed, but with considerable appearance of sincerity. "How void ~~was~~ I of regard to the designs against my crown, which the world had seen attempted by you, and *to the security which might ensue to the state by your death*; when I, finding your calamity to be so great, that you were at the pit's brink to have miserably lost your life, did not only entreat for your preservation, but so threatened some that were irritated against you, that I may say I was the principal cause of saving you."§ The English queen, probably with

* Throgmorton to Elizabeth, 22d Aug. Keith, 448.

† Elizabeth to Norris at Paris, 27th Sept. 1567. Keith, 462.

‡ Cecil to Norris, 19th Aug. 1567. Cabala, 129; and on the 3d of September he informs the same ambassador,—"Her majesty is still offended with the lords for the queen. The example moveth her."—Ibid. 130.

§ Elizabeth to Mary, 20th Feb. 1569-70. Robertson, App. xviii. At the same time Elizabeth instructed sir H. Norris to represent to the king and queen-mother of France, that "when the queen of Scots was conducted from the field of battle to a place of restraint, where she refused to renounce

no farther fixed intention than that of deterring the Scottish chiefs from offering violence to their sovereign, opened a negotiation with that portion of the nobility daily growing stronger, who were manifestly preparing to resist the regent.* It is evident from the tone of satisfaction in which Cecil soon after speaks of Moray's government, that Elizabeth was soon obliged to be content with his assurance that he would save the life of his sister, and that all farther attempts would be big with peril to that unfortunate princess. She soon withdrew from her advances to the confederates: but they persevered. The house of Hamilton, with their powerful connections and numerous followers, constituted their main strength. That illustrious family, declared by parliament to be next in the order of royal succession to Mary and her issue, between whom and the throne now stood nobody but a feeble infant, were impatient of the rule of a subject, and deemed it a proof of exemplary moderation that their ambition was bounded by the regency. To overthrow Moray, they coalesced with men of all opinions. The bishops, the great abbots, the Roman catholic lords, and all who were attached to the queen, either by gratitude or loyalty, including also those who were recalled to her cause by compassion, or moved by fear of confusion, flocked to Hamilton, and professed a determination to atone for their rebellion. The defection of the earl of Argyle from the protestants is ascribed by some to his descent from the Hamiltons by his mother, who was a daughter of that great family. Lethington, who, though he had connived at the king's murder, was a man of mild disposition, had been estranged from his old associates, by their refusal to grant

the said murderer, while she was thereby in present danger to have her life taken from her by the fury of the nation, as she well knoweth, we, by speedy messages, and other earnest means used to those who were most irritated against her, saved her life." — *Digges' Complete Ambassador*, 14. The book, absurdly so entitled, ought to have been called "Walsingham's Correspondence," which forms the greatest part of its valuable contents.

* Elizabeth to Throgmorton, 29th Aug 1567. Keith, 441. "Let the Hamiltons understand that we will allow their proceedings for the relief of their sovereign, and will do whatever is reasonable for the queen our sister."

favourable terms to the queen. Sir William Murray of Tullibardine, who had been a partisan of uncommon violence, is said to have now changed his side from personal resentment to Moray. The confederates found means to open an intercourse with Mary, who issued a commission to the duke of Chastelherault, to be her lieutenant of the kingdom. Moray, not without suspicion, or perhaps information of the designs formed against him, again visited his sister at Lochleven. She offered to quiet their apprehensions from Bothwell by a marriage, and proposed to wed George Douglas, a handsome stripling about eighteen years of age, for whom she spread her snares. He was the younger son of Lady Lochleven and consequently Moray's half-brother. But that nobleman evaded her proposal, and contented himself with the observation, that he was of too humble a rank for her consort, and that the states of the realm could alone determine such high matters. The regent expressed no wonder at this mention of a fourth husband, so soon after she had shown a resolution to cling to Bothwell; — a determination, of which the obstinacy was evinced by the strange pretext of honour under which she sought to hide it from Throgmorton. He might have suspected that, independently of her reasons of policy for gaining Douglas, she might have honoured that youth by casting upon him one of her vagrant glances of momentary preference. This proposal of marriage to Douglas was chiefly contrived to hide the design of escape really entertained. On the 25th of March she dressed herself in the clothes of her laundress, who had come from the adjacent village, and carrying with her a basket of linen to be washed, she covered her face with "*a muffler*," and entered into the boat which had carried the laundress to the island. One of the watermen, with rough gallantry, tried to lift up the muffler, saying gaily, — "Let us see what manner of dame this is." As she put up her hand to resist him, their wonder and their suspicion were awakened by its whiteness and delicacy. They refused to land her at Kinross, where

George Douglas, with Semple and Beaton waited for her. But they were so faithful and compassionate as to keep her secret. They relanded her on the island. The plan must, however, have been soon discovered, for sir William Drury gives an account of it from Berwick, on the 3d of April to Cecil.* Yet, notwithstanding the failure of this attempt, it was repeated, with more success, on Sunday the 2d of May. On that evening, while lady Lochleven and her eldest son were at supper, William Douglas, a youth brought up in the castle, stole the keys. He opened the gates in order to let out the queen with one attendant, and he locked them on the outside to delay the pursuit. On their landing at Kinross from the wherry to which they trusted themselves, they were received with gladness by George Douglas, with lord Seaton, Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Beaton, three of her constant and devoted adherents. She mounted her horse and did not slacken her gallop till she reached Niddry Castle†, the seat of lord Seaton, in West Lothian. After three hours' repose, she rode to Hamilton, where she was welcomed with joy, no longer dissembled, by a body of brilliant nobles, and a band of three thousand of their warlike followers. Her first act was to protest against the signatures extorted from her at Lochleven. The next was to require from Moray a renunciation of his illegal power. He was then holding a justice eyre at the neighbouring city of Glasgow.

Moray was attended only by his ordinary train, or by such armed men as were necessary to execute justice in a turbulent period. He was advised to fall back on Stirling, and to wait the reinforcements likely to arrive. But he was a man of resolute character: he understood the value of opening the contest with a bold front; and he dreaded the dispiriting effect of a retreat as more important than any military consideration of numbers in a war of which the event so much depended upon popular feeling. He considered the neighbourhood of

* Keith, 569, &c.

† Near Kirkliston.

the domains of Lenox, Glencairn, and Semple, as an advantage not to be lightly abandoned; and above all he relied on the protestant zeal of the presbyterian city of Glasgow, if they were assured of faithful aid, and animated by the example of fearless allies. His numbers at last did not exceed 4000 men. The queen's army, in a few days, increased to 6000, under the command of the earl of Argyle, the queen's lieutenant. Eloquent historians, both of the sixteenth and of the eighteenth century, have put in the mouths of the chiefs on both sides who assembled to deliberate on their movements those common-places which have been uttered in every age for or against caution or boldness. These topics, however, are seldom used in consultations respecting important measures, which are generally governed by the urgent necessities of the time, and by the minute circumstances of each particular case. The inaction of the queen's army for a time seemed to be rendered advisable by the departure of the earl of Huntly, who had gone to bring up his vassal tribes from the highlands, and of Ogilvie, who had repaired to his estates in the north with the like purpose. But if they decided for delay, it was evidently necessary to avoid giving the enemy an opportunity of forcing them to battle, which they might have guarded against, either by fortifying themselves in the advantageous position where they were quartered, or by a march towards Edinburgh, which would have concealed their retreat under specious appearances of advance. They apparently chose the least eligible of all plans, if their object was to avoid action. On the 13th of May, 1568, eleven days after the queen's escape from Lochleven, they marched from Hamilton towards Dumbarton, where it was said that their object was to leave the queen safely lodged in the castle, that they might be at liberty to direct their movements according to the circumstances of policy or of war. But by this march they put into the hands of their vigilant adversary, who was encamped in the flank of their line of advance, the choice of attack or delay,

with that of the time and place of fight. He did not neglect the opportunity. At this most critical moment the queen, fearful of being enthralled by the house of Hamilton, and dreading the imposition of one of them upon her as a husband, most unseasonably began a clandestine negotiation with the adverse chiefs, that her dependence might be lightened by her preserving some influence over both parties. When the army was on its march, Argyle was inopportunately attacked by a fit of apoplexy, a circumstance peculiarly injurious in an army where the attachment of friends and followers to a chief was the main bond of authority and discipline. Both parties struggled to obtain possession of a rising ground above the village of Langside. Moray succeeded. He appointed Kirkaldy of Grange, a soldier grown old in continental war, where he earned the esteem of the chief captains of his age, to ride round his line with a small detachment, and aid or animate as the state of things might require. The veteran, having surveyed the ground, caused each of his horsemen to take up a foot soldier behind him, and galloped through a narrow lane to the top of Langside hill, at the highest point of which lane he posted his detachment of infantry with their culverines, covered by cottages and gardens. The queen's army, disappointed in their first object, took post on a lower rising ground immediately adjoining. Some successes were for a short time gained by both parties in their turn. The queen's vanguard, on their march along a lane of forty feet broad, were severely annoyed by the regent's arquebusiers; and on emerging from the lane on the north-east end of the village of Langside, they were received by his vanguard, armed with spears of unusual length, and a conflict took place, in which, for about half an hour, neither party gained much advantage. In about a quarter of an hour after this equal combat, the queen's party began to waver and suddenly took to flight. Macfarlane, the chief of an ancient tribe in the neighbouring country of Lenox, brought 200 of his clansmen to this battle. Calderwood

had been informed that this chief had at one time withdrawn with his followers, and was called back only by the appearance of victory and hope of booty. The accounts sent to England, more just or generous to the mountaineer, ascribe a great share in the event to him. The two statements are not, perhaps, irreconcilable. The most interesting particular of this battle was the unusual clemency of the victor. "The regent," says sir James Melville*, "cried out to save and not to kill. The only slaughter was at the lane head, from the fire of the soldiers whom Kirkaldy had planted there." — "The regent sent horsemen all round with a command to spare the men."† — "At the moment when the enemy gave way, the earl of Moray willed and required his men to spare bloodshed."‡ His exertions were so successful that, though the pursuit was long continued, the whole number killed on the side of the queen did not exceed 200. His mercy did not arise from the dread of retaliation, for he lost no more than two men; and the accuracy of that enumeration is proved by the remarkable circumstance that the name of one of them, though both were privates, is still preserved.

There are few examples, in the civil dissensions of times accounted the most humane, of so tender a regard to human life as was thus shown by Moray to those among his countrymen who most fiercely sought his destruction.

Mary was so placed as to view from her seat on horseback the chief incidents of an action which decided her fate. Though Melville tells us that she then, for the first time, lost her courage, and abandoned herself to fear, the general temper of that high-minded princess warrants a suspicion that he fell into the vulgar error of taking that for fear which was only a clear and quick perception of danger, without which it is hard

* Melville, 202.

† Extract from Calderwood's MS. History. Keith, 479.

‡ Anonymous intelligence from Scotland. State Paper Office MSS. These authorities, from a comparison of which the narrative in the text has been formed, concur in bearing testimony to the anxious and active humanity of the regent.

to make a bold effort either to resist it or to escape it. Her happy conformation, which united the beauty of delicate proportions with healthy vigour and youthful nimbleness ; the skilfulness and boldness of her horsemanship, an accomplishment for which she had been celebrated at the court of Paris, stood her in much stead at this moment of disastrous overthrow. Foiled in an attempt to gain Dumbarton Castle, which was garrisoned by her troops, commanded by lord Fleming, she rode on, accompanied by lord Herries, the most tried of her friends, to the abbey of Dundrennan, on the Solway frith, near Kirkcudbright, at the distance of sixty miles from the field of battle. At that monastery, of which lord Herries's son was the abbot, she found a short repose, and hoped for opportunities of escape from the resentment of her people, into a foreign country.* But there was neither time, nor calmness, nor, indeed, any subject for long deliberation : unless she preferred the revival of civil war, which held out little prospect of good to her friends, and threatened her with destruction in its most odious form, there was no alternative but a flight to England. Had she tried to reach the rugged territories of Argyle, or the remote domains of Huntly, she must have gone through the disguises, the affronts, the indignities incident to such an attempt ; she must patiently have endured the privations, the surprises, the inconveniences, the exposures, the rapid advances, the frequent flights of a mountain war levied by rude and wild tribes, — evils from which the nerves of a woman might shrink, without any disparagement to her spirit. It is probable that there was not then a vessel in the Solway frith which would have ventured on a voyage to France, with the chances of capture by Scotch or even English vessels. England, therefore, was the sole asylum. Though Elizabeth had long made common cause with the conquerors, she had shown the utmost displeasure at the extremities which some of them had meditated against the person of their sovereign.

The assurances of Elizabeth, to which Mary afterwards alluded, could not have imported any promise of asylum, the necessity for which could not have been felt, till the moment of need had arrived. Nevertheless, it is probable that Mary considered the late friendly behaviour of her cousin of England as ground enough for expecting a welcome reception. But stern necessity now left her no other choice. However she might then or afterwards represent herself as voluntarily trusting to her royal sister's affection or justice, England was, in truth, her only refuge from pursuers now likely to be uncorollable and inexorable. Desirous, however, to preserve some appearance of liberty, she directed lord Herries, on Saturday, the 15th of May, to write a letter to Mr. Lowther, the governor of Carlisle, desiring to know whether, if the queen were compelled to seek refuge in England, she might come safely to Carlisle. He answered, that, being without instructions, and in the absence of lord Scroop, the warden of the borders, he could only promise to receive her with due honour at Carlisle, and to keep her in safety till the pleasure of the queen of England was known. She could not, however, wait for the answer; but embarked from Dundrennan on Sunday, with lord Herries and about twenty companions, guarded by a company of soldiers in a fishing boat, which landed them the same evening at Workington, a small town near the mouth of the Derwent, distant about sixteen miles from the place of their embarkation, which must have been either the mouth of the Dee or that of the Nith. At this moment were closed for ever the dignity, the power, the personal liberty of the queen of Scotland; whose early life shone with more unclouded splendour, and whose later years were darkened by more unremitting adversity, than have fallen to the lot of any other royal lady whose fortunes have been the subject of authentic history. The sequel of our undertaking will oblige us to return to her life in England, when her mind, ennobled by calamity, and taught to

feel horror against wrong, by suffering from the vices of others, will be contemplated in a purer light.

The council of Elizabeth were called upon by the arrival of Mary to determine questions of no small moment, of which the decision was rendered difficult by considerations, apparently conflicting, of justice as well as of convenience. The papers of Cecil, which are still extant, contain a careful comparison of the various plans of policy to be adopted towards the illustrious suppliant, under the heads of justice, expediency, necessity, or facility; an enumeration which seems to exhaust every member of the subject under consideration.* "The best way for England, but not the easiest," was, "that the queen of Scots might continue to be deprived of the crown, and that the government of that country might remain in the same hands." The second mode was "profitable for England, but not so hard;" which was, "that the queen and her son should be jointly vested with the sovereignty, with a truce in Scotland, a meeting of the Scottish parliament, and a limitation of the queen's power in appointments to office, or in measures of state." It was considered as desirable that the young king should be educated in England; that his mother should remain there twelve months, and should not leave that country without licence from Elizabeth. In another paper, dated in May, 1568, he represents it to be essential to ascertain whether there be positive proof of Mary's accession to her husband's murder, with a view to the propriety of acceding to her demand of an interview with Elizabeth; and in order that, if evidently innocent, she might be restored, or that, even if guilty, she might be guarded against violence; though her restoration must, in the latter case, be accompanied with conditions which

* In an unpublished MS. of Cecil, entitled *Συμβουλευτική*, these heads are presented thus:—

<p><i>Αγαθόν Συμφέρον Ανεγκαιόν Ρυθμιόν</i></p>	}	<p><i>Συγκρίσις των</i></p>	{	<p><i>Αγαθόν και Συμμεριζόμενον.</i></p>
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This paper, in the State Paper Office, is not dated, but was probably written on the news of Mary's crossing the Solway, and certainly within a month of that event.

would prevent her from being a tool of the Guisian faction, to the destruction of the Scottish protestants, and of the harmony between Scotland and England. Here, for the first time, we see that Cecil had taken a comprehensive view of all the mixed considerations of policy and justice which arose on that peculiarly debatable ground, on which the safety of a people seems to create a species of moral right, and to justify those acts which are necessary to secure the undisturbed quiet of the state, even when they deviate from rules which are, with reason, deemed inviolable in any but the most extreme and extraordinary cases. The great statesman calmly enquires into the duties of his royal mistress towards her own subjects; towards the adherents of her faith throughout Europe; and more especially to the protestant rulers of Scotland, whom she was bound by honour, as much as she was interested by national policy, to support. Faith between nations depends little on names or forms, It was of no substantial importance to enquire whether the government of Moray was legitimate. It was enough that the Scottish protestants were men who had been encouraged by the acts and words of Elizabeth from the moment of her accession to stake their all upon her power and her will to support them. The interposition of her good offices on behalf of Mary's safety and liberty, during the year which preceded her flight, rather riveted than loosened the obligations which England had so long contracted, to maintain the reformation in Scotland. These obligations were recognised by the ministers of the queen of Scots in negotiating the treaty of Edinburgh; they were founded on circumstances which were not changed; and a firm reliance on these obligations had caused measures to be adopted which it was now impossible to recall. What, then, would be the practical consequence of setting Mary at liberty? or, still more, of restoring her without conditions? If she was allowed to go to France, would not Scotland by that means be surrendered to the house of Lorraine? If she should prefer Spain, would not the

gates of England be thus put into the hands of that more powerful and more bigoted government at the moment of the war against the Netherlands, three years after the league of Bayonne, when reasonable protestants might dread the perpetration of such deeds as were perpetrated so soon afterwards on the day of St. Bartholomew? If she were immediately allowed to return to Scotland, would not her return give a royal sanction to the revolts of Argyle and Huntly, which had broken out, as it were, to reproach her precipitate flight, and to invite her to re-ascend the throne? Spain, France, Ireland, a party in Scotland, many of the English nobility, who believed her to be the legitimate queen of England, needed only her presence and assent to assert her pretensions with vigour. If Elizabeth were to send a powerful army into Scotland to oppress her friends, she would be justly condemned for perfidy as much as despised for folly. To suffer Mary to return to Scotland, would be, in substance, as decisive an act of hostility to the protestant regency of Scotland, as the invasion of that country by an English army for the like purpose. Elizabeth had also to consider whether it was consistent with her duty to her people, as guardian of the public quiet, to allow a formidable pretender to the English crown to depart freely and unconditionally from the kingdom. Amidst relations so complicated, it was no wonder that duties should appear to be in a state of conflict with each other. Such an unhappy contest may sometimes arise; and in the position of the English queen it would be, perhaps, impossible to point out any course of measures which might not be resented by some parties concerned as a wrong, while it might be hard to determine which of the apparently jarring rules of national justice had the paramount claim to inviolable observance. The perilous question was brought into view, how far the right of the queen and people of England to provide for their own safety, and to retain the means of performing their duties, extended, in the case of an illustrious fugitive, whose unconditional liberty appeared to be incompatible with the secure quiet

of neighbouring countries. On several occasions the superiority of England, and the ancient vassalage of Scotland, were thrown into the scale, as vesting a sort of jurisdiction over Scottish affairs in Elizabeth, — absurdly, after a forbearance of nearly 300 years, even if the claim had ever been satisfactorily established.

Mary, immediately on her landing, despatched Herries, her friend through every change of fortune, to desire that she might be forthwith admitted to the presence of the queen, and that succour might be granted to restore her, and to suppress the rebellion; expectations naturally excited by Elizabeth's affectionate treatment since her imprisonment at Lochleven. The queen answered, that she was heartily sorry that she could not assent to her sister's present coming: that as long as the imputation of a share in the murder of Darnley lay on Mary, and while the circumstances of the marriage with Bothwell were unexplained, Elizabeth could not with honour seem to treat so lightly the violent death of lord Darnley, her natural-born subject and nearest kinsman: that if the queen of Scots could devise any means of removing the imputation of such crimes, Elizabeth would receive her with open arms, restore her to the throne, and chastise her rebellious subjects; and in the mean time entertain her with all the honour due to a queen. Lord Herries replied, that though his mistress was impatient to be received by her sister, yet he was instructed by his queen to say, that if her majesty thought the interview for the present unmeet, his mistress would intrust the whole cause to the arbitrament of her sister. Elizabeth said, that she disclaimed all intention to adopt the forms of judgment against an independent sovereign; that her great object was to vindicate the innocence and re-establish the authority of Mary, or, in the worst event, if the assertion of Mary's honour should not be so clear as were to be wished, to compound all difficulties without bloodshed. An agreement was entered into accordingly. Elizabeth sent an agent to stop Moray's hostilities against Huntly

and Argyle, which saved these noblemen from destruction. Herries, a few days after, seemed loath to admit an enquiry in which the Scottish revolvers were to be heard. After much conference between him and her majesty, in the presence of the council, he at last consented to her terms. Shortly after he faltered and scrupled, so that the conference was countermanded. He proposed that the kings of France and Spain should bind themselves to send no troops into Scotland, if Mary were suffered to go. But it being found that he had no authority to make this proposal, the council declined the consideration of it. About the 15th of July he appears to have consented to the original proposition of an enquiry by commissioners.* About the 28th of July†, at Bolton Castle, to which residence Mary had been removed, Herries repeated to her, as well as to lord Scroop and sir Francis Knolles, frequently and solemnly, the message brought by him to his mistress, when he returned from London; which was, “that if Mary would commit her cause to be heard by her highness’s order, not to make her highness judge over her, but rather as committing herself to the counsel of her dear cousin and friend, her highness would send for the noblemen of Scotland that they might answer before such noblemen of England as should be chosen by her, why they had deposed their queen: that if they could assign some reason (which her highness thought they could not), she might restore the queen of Scots to her regal seat, on condition that the lords and all her other subjects should continue in their honours, states, and dignities; but if they assigned no reason, her highness would replace the queen absolutely on her throne by force of arms, if they should resist; in which case her highness would expect the queen to renounce all claims to England during her highness’s life, and the lives of her progeny, — to convert the alliance with France into a league with England, and to substitute the English Book

* The above account is abridged from a paper corrected and interlined by Cecil, in the Cotton. Library, Calig. c. 1., and printed in Anderson’s Collections, iv. 7.

† Knollys to Cecil. Bolton, 28th July. Calig. c. 1. Anderson, iv. 102.

of Common Prayer for the mass-book in the Scottish churches. At first she made some scruple; but, after further conference, she said she would submit her cause to her highness in thankful wise accordingly. At the same time it appeared that Herries, full as his heart was of truth and loyalty to Mary, did not mislike that she should be bridled in her government by the adjunction of some noblemen of her realm; "in consideration of her rashness and foul marriage with Bothwell, whom he would have prosecuted to death." In the interpretation and recollection of conversations which required language of so much delicacy, mis-statements at a subsequent time were altogether unavoidable. It will not, perhaps, appear to a careful and impartial reader that, in this case, either party had yet materially departed from their original overtures. The conditions proposed by Elizabeth continued to be, in the main, one and the same, from Cecil's first draught of advice to the subsequent conferences at York and Westminster. The fluctuations in Mary's language were not more than was unavoidable, amidst the violent struggles of her pride with her prudence. It was the noble care of Herries to guard the dignity of his fallen sovereign, by keeping aloof from judicial forms and pretences to jurisdiction, which, he thought, reasonably, if that had been the sole object, would be best effected by committing the discussion of Scottish affairs to the issue of a personal and friendly interview between the royal kinswomen. The English statesman leant to more rigour than was at that time acceptable to Elizabeth; and the privy council ascribed more to the varying shades of Mary's language than an equitable judge, who made due allowance for her circumstances and situation, would have approved. On the 20th of June the council had unanimously passed several resolutions respecting this great question, which contained their advice to her majesty, and were accordingly laid before her. They declared, that in their opinion the queen's majesty could not with honour or with safety release the queen of Scots, much less help her

restoration to the throne, till, after a fair hearing of both parties, she should be absolved from the heinous crime charged upon her. The restitution of Mary to the dignity without the power of a queen seemed to the lords so subtle and complicated a scheme, so defective in securities against the most imminent perils, so likely to wound the pride and indignation of Mary, and to kindle her desire of revenge by arming it with some new weapons, that the council rejected it as altogether unmeet. They recommended that an account of all that had occurred, particularly of Mary's disposition to shrink from an enquiry which she had at first courted, should be communicated to the kings of France and Spain.

Few great transactions can be so fully estimated from the original documents as the detention of the queen of Scots in England. The documents themselves are eminently worthy of trust. They are the work of a statesman who was accustomed to write dissertations on public measures, and to examine them with a logical analysis, which almost compels a writer to fill up, according to the rules of method, every separate question presented by the subject which he handles. They much more resemble the writings of a political philosopher than the compositions of statesmen and diplomatists; which are generally coloured with a mere temporary purpose, and studiously avoid that rigorous order which renders too prominent the omission of topics inconvenient to be urged. In none of these state papers do we find that silence on some subjects, those mere allusions to others, that very partial disclosure of a third sort, which, though not unreasonable in diplomatic correspondence, where it is an object to avoid what might imprudently pledge one party, or needlessly offend another, yet are so often used for deception, as to be always liable to suspicions of a sinister purpose. From such suspicions the very pedantry of Cecil guards him, by compelling him to write with a sort of excess of good faith. The fulness and plainness of them imply a deep respect for the understanding of Elizabeth: naked reason is laid before her, without any attempts to conceal what might be

obnoxious, or to soften what was harsh, without flattering her vanity or inflaming her passions. This treatment implied undoubtedly the highest commendation which can be bestowed upon a sovereign. But it never could be adopted for a personal purpose. It is flattering only to the wise. It would be displeasing to inferior minds. Whenever it is successful, it is with princes who are inaccessible to adulation. The whole tone of the documents contradicts opinions which have arisen in later times. It is evident from them that all public measures originated with her sagacious counsellors, and that, though adopted by her wisdom, they were little influenced by her private passions and personal defects; excepting, indeed, those which relate to marriage, or to the inheritance of the crown and the pretensions to the succession.*

* About 250 years after Mary had crossed the Solway, another case of exception from ordinary rules arose in England, opposite to hers in moral circumstances, yet resembling it in the dry skeleton of legal theory.

Napoleon Bonaparte, probably the most extraordinary man who has appeared in the world since Julius Cæsar, whom he surpassed in genius for war as much as he and all other warriors must yield to the great dictator in the arts and attainments of peace, having raised himself to the sovereignty of Europe by his commanding faculties, when he was hurried from that eminence by his insolent contempt for mankind, sought for refuge in the ships and territories of the only nation who had successfully defied his power. When he applied with that view to the commander of a British ship of war, he was answered, as Mary had been by the governor of Carlisle, that an officer had no authority to promise more than an hospitable reception in his own ship. The course of events obliged Mary to rush into shelter before the answer of Mr. Lowther arrived. Napoleon was compelled to take refuge in the ship before any answer could be obtained from a competent authority. Both affected to act voluntarily, though they were alike driven by necessity to the first open asylum. Neither of them was born an English subject, nor had committed any offence within the jurisdiction of England: consequently, neither of them was amenable to English law. Neither of them could be justly considered as at war with England; though, on that part of the subject, some technical but unsubstantial obstacles might be opposed to Napoleon, which could not be urged against Mary. The imprisonment of neither was conformable to the law of England or the law of nations. But the liberty of Mary was deemed to be at variance with the safety of the English government; as the enlargement of Napoleon was thought to be with the independence of nations, and with the repose for which Europe sighed after long bloodshed. The imprisonment, though in neither case warranted by the rules of municipal or international law, was in both justified by that necessity from which these rules have sprung, and without which no violence can rightfully be done to a human being.

Agreeably to this view of the matter, the detention of Napoleon was legalised by an act of the British parliament.* By the bare passing of such act it was tacitly assumed, that the antecedent detention was without warrant of law. This evident truth is more fully admitted by the language of the statute, which, in assigning the reason for passing it, alleges, that "it is necessary for the preservation of the tranquillity of Europe, and for the general safety, that Napoleon Bonaparte should be detained and kept in custody;" and it is still more explicitly declared, by a specific enactment

* 56 Geo. 3. cap. 22. A. D. 1816.

It must be owned that it is hard to deny that the necessity of self-defence, which is the only just foundation of the rights of war and of criminal justice, may not, in extreme emergencies, warrant violence to individuals, even though the principle of defence be not embodied in antecedent rules of law. Yet the methods by which men may be regularly and legitimately deprived of life or liberty are sufficiently comprehensive. The seasons at which exceptions present themselves, are commonly those in which fear and anger render just judgment most improbable. If they be considered as warranted in cases of minor severity, it will be found impossible to assign any limits to them other than the conscience and mercy of the possessors of power. Their opinion of what is necessary to ward off danger from themselves must become the sole measure of their conduct. The immense range of moral colours, from a fraudulent pretension through a considerable convenience, or the removal of an impediment or an accession to safety, up to the very confines of a struggle for existence, is more than enough to dazzle and bewilder the eye of the mind. A restraint on personal liberty, which seems to be the mildest and most strictly defensible of all irregular measures, has yet evils peculiar to itself, arising from the circumstance that it must often be long in order to be effectual. The danger is forgotten by the sufferer and the spectators; the anomaly alone steadfastly continues to glare on the eye. The prisoner complains often only from the irritation of his condition, sometimes with a purpose to provoke. Impartial bystanders embrace his cause, in proportion as his vexations are prolonged. The inferior agents in his detention, sometimes justly displeased, sometimes to pay their court to their employers, become more harsh. The process is sometimes cut short by the death of the prisoner, which generally earns for his memory the fellow-feeling of after ages. In other cases it proceeds

which pronounces, that he "shall be deemed and taken to be, and shall be treated and dealt with, as a prisoner of war;" a distinct admission that he was not so in contemplation of law until the statute had imposed that character upon him.

from complaint to conspiracy, which exasperates the sovereign more and more, until a government is provoked into a deed of blood, which leaves an indelible stain on its name.

Whoever with calmness reviews these melancholy portions of history, after temporary passions have subsided, will find it impossible to repress a wish that no exceptions from the rules of moral and even of legal justice towards individuals may hereafter be countenanced by historians or moralists. This might at length contribute to banish such direful expedients from the practice of states. The least reflection will enable a reader, even if he only glances over the surface of history, to perceive how surely such stretches of power render their authors for ever odious, and how seldom (if ever) they were necessary to the safety of communities.

CHAP. III.

ELIZABETH.

1560—1574.

INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

THE revolutions of Scotland, the highest object of English policy during the early years of Elizabeth, have been thus related somewhat fully, until the moment arrived when, by the firm establishment of a reformed government among the Scots, they lost their importance in the history of England. Till Scotland was in friendly hands, Britain could not, in a military view, be regarded as an island. It was only then that the allies of Bayonne were deprived of the vantage ground from which they most nearly threatened the overthrow of Elizabeth's throne. The duke of Alva, who was then beginning to carry into execution the secret projects of these

princes, was not yet aware that the ruler of the island fortress, of which the works were just completed, was to prove a guardian of national independence, and an unconscious champion of religious liberty; who would sally forth in due time from behind her bulwarks, pouring hope into the bosoms of the persecuted, and striking terror into the hearts of the bigot and the tyrant.

These events, thus big with the fortunes of Christendom, become peculiarly interesting to the English historian, by enabling him to estimate our most famous sovereign and our wisest statesman, whose qualities are exhibited in their dealing with Scotland. We have seen, in original documents, which have strong intrinsic claims on belief, that the measures of the English cabinet, though not above exception, were not full of such art and stratagem,—nor, on the other hand, so characterised by caprice and jealousy,—as they have been supposed to be, by some historians, from hostile prejudice; by others, from a desire to excite surprise at contrasted qualities in the same character, and more especially at an union of high faculties with shameful foibles. It has appeared that the supposed influence of the most odious of womanish faults cannot be really traced in negotiations, of which the whole particulars were intrusted to experienced statesmen. We shall not be recalled to the contemplation of these circumstances in the relations between the queens of England and Scotland, till scenes present themselves which will compel us to transfer our admiration and blame, with an equal observance of historical justice, to diametrically opposite parties.

The first ten years of Elizabeth's domestic administration were a season of undisturbed quiet,—barren in memorable events or affecting incidents. They were called by contemporaries "her halcyon days."* "Until the tenth year of her reign the times were calm and serene, though sometimes overcast; as the most glorious sunshine is subject to shadowings and droopings;—for

* Naunton, *Fragments Regalia*.

the clouds of Spain, and the vapours of the holy league (of Bayonne), began to *disperse**, and to threaten her felicity."† It was a part of this felicity that many, — perhaps the greater number — of English catholics were content occasionally to conform to the rites of the English church, and to partake in the legal form of worship; inasmuch as they deemed it to contain nothing contrary to religion, though it was wanting in many of its important parts.‡ Allen, a catholic clergyman, afterwards conspicuous under the name of cardinal Allen, during his visit to England, where he resided from 1562 to 1565, seems to have lessened the number of the occasional conformists by arguments which are conclusive; as well as by the authority of the most learned of the divines at Trent. His rigour was, however, so unpopular, that he was obliged to quit his native county of Lancaster; and, though he was more successful at Oxford, he soon returned to Flanders.

The first symptoms of a persecuting spirit which began to creep into the legislation of Elizabeth, must have arisen rather from fears excited by the clouds portending storm on the Continent, than from any indiscretion or inflexibility of her own catholic subjects. The English ministers, in 1564, received from their secret agents in Italy information of designs against their sovereign entertained at Rome.§ It was a part of this intelligence that a congregation of cardinals, appointed to consider the state of the British islands, had advised Pius IV. to grant the crown of England to any catholic prince who should undertake to reduce that rebellious country to a state of

* *i. e.* To spread abroad, even while they were thickening and darkening.

† Sir R. Naunton, *Fragm. Regalia*. art. Cecil.

‡ *Dod, Church History*, ii. 44. *Butl. Hist. Mem.* i. 166. The first of these respectable works exhibits, on these subjects, two remarkable instances of the power of eager zeal to blind a sagacious and honest writer. Speaking of the supposed versatility of Elizabeth's religion, Mr. Dod says, "The six articles of her faith — the medley liturgy of her brother — all sat easy upon her." *Dod*, ii. 44. Will the reader believe, that in the year of the law of the six articles, 31 Hen. VIII. c. 14., to which the historian alluded, Elizabeth was in her seventh year? But the liturgy of her brother was substantially the same with her own. "After some months' hesitation," says the same writer, "she appeared visibly for the reformation." The reader of the above narrative will perceive, that she never really hesitated for a moment, and that her public avowal of protestantism followed her accession in *some days*, or, according to the largest calculation, in the space of a month.

§ *Strype, Ann.* vol. i. part ii. 54—57.

due obedience towards the holy see. They cannot fail to have much earlier obtained intelligence of a nature that awakened their alarms. The particulars of these accounts, and their coincidence with those secrets of the great continental powers which had transpired since the peace of Câteau-Cambresis, gave considerable probability to the outline of the reports which were made to Cecil by his agents at Venice, and of which, however mixed with mistakes and exaggerations, the substance seems to have been believed by that sagacious minister, and therefore in some measure acted upon by the English government. About the time of these informations, the parliament of 1563 sharpened the severity of the act of uniformity by making the second offence against its provisions capital, if committed by an ecclesiastic of the established church, or by a person who deviated from the authorised rites of the church after admonition, or by such as in words or writing endeavoured to defame* the public worship, or who said or heard private mass.

The oath of supremacy was declared by this statute to import no more than an acknowledgment that "her majesty is, under God, to have the sovereignty and rule over all persons born within her dominions, whether ecclesiastical or temporal, so as that no foreign power shall have or ought to have any superiority over them;" an interpretation conformable to the instructions issued two years before by the ecclesiastical commissioners, who had copied it from the ambiguous and evasive laws of Henry VIII. The oath of supremacy was for the first time imposed on members of the house of commons, as a condition which must be performed before entrance into the house. Peers were exempted from the oath, as persons of whose faith and loyalty the queen was otherwise assured.† One means of hostility against catholics had, indeed, been supplied by a clause in the act of uniformity, which inflicted fine and imprisonment on

* "Deprave" is the expression used in the statute. In Minshew's Dictionary of Nine Languages, one of the senses of that word is "to defame," which is reduced in the text to modern orthography.

† 5 Eliz. cap. 1.

those who use any form of prayer but that contained in the liturgy ; and increased the penalty, even to imprisonment for life, in case of a repetition of the offence.* These statutes were opposed by lord Montague and Mr. Atkinson† in their respective houses, on principles of liberty so large as to be of suspicious sincerity from any statesmen in that age, and to seem not becoming in the mouths of those ministers or partisans of queen Mary who now employed them.

A circular letter of the primate, written by the queen's command, and to which Cecil added a paragraph of earnest exhortation to mildness, tempered and almost suspended the harshest part of these bad laws. He takes it for granted that nothing but the wilfulness of "some of that sort" could "compel" a bishop to tender the oath to them, and enjoins him in that extreme case not to offer the oath a second time without consulting the archbishop himself; a direction not so consonant to first principles as the professions of the opponents of the law, but, on account of its very limitations, a much more conclusive proof of the sincerity of the writer.

During the period now under consideration, no other change in the laws occurred. There can be no doubt that the administration of Bacon and Cecil far surpassed in approaches towards toleration all contemporary governments. Their prudence and temper probably led them often to connive at a degree of religious liberty, from which as a general principle they would themselves have recoiled. Some stains of their age may, however, be traced in the policy of these excellent ministers. In 1568, a notable mark of the queen's displeasure was fixed on the ancient religion, by the exclusion of catholics from court.‡ Shortly after they were excluded from the bar by an order in council, which directed the benchers or governors of the inns of court, the places of

* 1 Eliz. cap. 2.

† Robert Atkinson, burgess for Appleby, styled by Strype a student of law in the Inner Temple; perhaps a barrister. Browne Willis, iii. 76.

‡ Strype's Parker, i. 532.

legal education, to enforce the oath of supremacy upon all candidates for the bar or the bench.* Sir Edward Waldegrave, a catholic gentleman who held high office under Mary, was, with his lady, committed to the Tower for hearing mass; a committal which, under the largest construction of the act of uniformity, was of doubtful legality.† Some other unnamed persons were committed at the same time with Waldegrave, and probably for the same offence. We find a complaint from Grindal and another bishop to the privy council, breathing no humane spirit against the contumacy of lady Carew's servants, who refused to make oath to answer interrogatories where they apprehended that the answers might criminate themselves.‡ Where such facts are still extant and accessible, it is certain that the madness of fanaticism, and the officious servility of petty tyrants in many cases unknown to us, must have employed bad laws for objects beyond their detestable purpose. Yet some monument must have remained of a persecution, if it had extended to capital punishment, or had comprehended very numerous victims. It was not till 1568 that the extensive and open prevalence of the catholic worship in Lancashire began to awaken the alarms of the court. A commission was granted to the bishop of Chester to examine and reform the state of his diocese.§ Information was given of extensive confederacies, of secret meetings, of absolution from the oath of allegiance, and of unlawful oaths of obedience to the pope, which seemed so much to portend commotion, if not rebellion, that they deterred the bishop from visiting the most disaffected parts of his diocese, where his presence was most necessary.|| The catholics, however, escaped the consequences of these imprudences without any more harsh conditions than an acknowledgment of their offences against the

* Strype's Grindal, 203.

† April 22. 1561. Strype, Ann. i. 400. Oxford edition, 1894. (old edition 267.). They must have been committed as accessories to the offence against the act of uniformity, which their chaplain had committed by using the mass.

‡ September 15. 1562. Haynes, 395.

§ Strype, Ann. vol. i. part 2. p. 253.

|| Id. 260.

act of uniformity, and a solemn promise to obey the laws; which, though they were infringements of the rights of conscience, will presently appear to be palliated, or, according to the standard of that age, justified, by the events which followed in the north of England.

The protestants who fled to England before the destroying sword of the duke of Alva, and from the religious wars of France, had so much increased, that it was thought prudent to ascertain their numbers, — at least in the capital, where the enumeration was more easy, and considered to be more necessary. The whole number of aliens in the city of London and the adjoining parishes was found to be nearly 5000; of whom about 4000 inhabited the city of London, and little more than 1000 dwelt in the suburban districts. Of the number in the city 1200 were new-comers. In the city, 3400 were French or Dutch; which last term comprehended Germans and Flemings. In the suburbs almost the whole of the foreigners were of these classes.* It is not improbable that the body of aliens was not less than a twentieth part of the dwellers in the capital at that period. A very large portion of them appear, from the countries of which they were natives, and from the circumstances of the Continent at the time of their arrival, to have been refugees for religion, who spread alarm and horror by the narratives of their sufferings. Among them lurked many individuals who had been carried along by the flood of speculation, which the reformation excited, into opinions which, though false, and indeed monstrous, were yet so alluring to the inexperienced philanthropist, as well as to the ravenous plunderer, that they might become dangerous to the order and safety of human society. A smaller number, either inflamed by fanaticism or stimulated by rapacity, had perpetrated atrocities which rendered them objects of suspicion to every watchful government. The name of anabaptist was applied by undistinguishing enemies to persons of both these classes; though the majority of those who

* Grindal's Return, 1567. Haynes, 445.

were so called had then nothing in common with the furious enthusiasts to whom the appellation was first given, except an opinion perfectly inoffensive to society, that the religious ceremony of baptism should, like other sacred rites, be limited to those who had reached an age when they might possibly comprehend its meaning.

The visionary was confounded with the criminal. The pacific opponent of infant baptism was regarded as inheriting the atrocity of the anabaptists of Munster; and therefore excluded from that indulgence which began to be felt towards other protestants. In the further progress of injustice, the odium, though not the punishment, extended to all the reformed. The effects of this immigration of foreigners were various. All protestants were inflamed by a more bitter animosity against the persecutors of their brethren. The mixture of many men of obnoxious opinions, and of some of ambiguous character, among the refugees, contributed to that disfavour with the church of England in which foreign protestants were held for a century and a half. The far greater number of the fugitives were followers of Calvin, who, feeling as well as knowing that the seat of religion was the heart, desired a more purely spiritual worship, delivered from those outward ceremonies which, in their opinion, did not so much promote as they debased and perverted devotion. The ardent affection which marked the piety of these men was not friendly to rites and forms, which they considered as having been too much used towards human creatures to be a fit mode of manifesting our reverence for God.

On this occasion, and about this time, arose into more notice the party called puritans, from their professed purpose of purifying the church from those remains of Roman catholic discipline and worship which the moderation of the earlier reformers had respected. They disliked rather than at first rejected episcopal superiority; but they more decisively blamed the use of the cross in baptism, of the ring in marriage, of instrumental or hired music in public worship, and of sacer-

dotal vestments, polluted in their eyes by Romish adoption; they objected to episcopal courts, and to the repetitions and responses of the liturgy; they protested against the lessons appointed to be read from the apocryphal books, which the catholics retained as a portion of the Vulgate, but of which it is not known that there ever was a Hebrew original. These scruples borrowed that vast power which they afterwards exercised, and which now appears so disproportioned to their intrinsic importance, from the disposition awakened by the reformation to receive nothing on merely human authority; and to bring every true Christian into that state of constant intercourse with the Supreme Mind, which allows no authority and little peculiar sacredness in priests, and is displeased with the outward badges of their high pretensions. The devotional spirit of these extreme reformers was offended by those who appeared to them to claim a right of standing between them and their God; and their jealousy was naturally fixed on bishops, on whom splendour and opulence had stamped a worldly character, and whose jurisdiction maintained order and discipline in the adverse army. Those called bishops in the reformed churches they charged with peculiar inconsistencies; because, having visibly no warrant from the New Testament, they confessedly derived authority through the channel of the church of Rome, which they at the same time taught to be a body of idolaters. The protestants, inconsistently with the spirit of their doctrines, but advantageously to their policy as a faction, made war principally against the external symbols of the ancient religion; a course perhaps, rendered inevitable by the direction in which the passions of the multitude never fail to run. But the cross and the surplice were assailed as the ensigns of a ritual and dictatorial system, against which a more pure and lofty spirit struggled among the puritans, long before those who were impelled by it became conscious of its true nature.

Puritanism had appeared under Edward VI. Its numbers were recruited, and their zeal inflamed, by the return of so many exiles from the seats of Calvinism in

Switzerland at the moment of the queen's accession. The governments of England, however inclined by humanity and prudence to indulge a scrupulous conscience, were not exempt from the common error of their age, — that obedience was as much due to the supreme power in matters of religion as in the civil relations of life. Some circumstances peculiar to the situation of Elizabeth contributed to an exercise of that supposed right against puritans, which may — perhaps not improperly — be called the first civil war between protestants. That princess was now at the head of the protestant party, and certainly foresaw that the catholics were on the brink of a fearful struggle with the reformers. She dreaded a division in the protestant camp. Dissenters from a protestant establishment were regarded as mutineers who were likely to be deserters. They were peculiarly obnoxious, because they seemed to justify the adverse party in branding the reformation as the parent of endless confusion. To Elizabeth, as the ruler of the most powerful of the reformed states, whose honour and authority were identified with the safety of the reformation, seemed more especially to belong a power of maintaining union among protestants, who, even united, would still continue to be the weaker of the parties about to take the field against each other.

The puritans were powerful in council and at court. Bedford, Warwick, and Leicester, Cecil, Walsingham, and Knollys, were friendly to their cause.* In the lower house of convocation, in 1562, a proposition to modify "the usages" (the name given to the practices alleged to be papal) was rejected by the least of possible majorities, — being only fifty-nine to fifty-eight; and those who were somewhat inferior in numbers appear to have been of more weight, if considered either as men of learning, or as numbering among them nearly all the voluntary exiles for religion.† Grindall hesitated about

* Neale's Hist. of Nonconformists, vol. i. chap. iv. p. 166. edit. Lond. 1822.

† Strype, Annals, c. xxix. "Those," says the annalist, "who were for stripping the church of her rites and ceremonies were such as had lately

conformity; honest George Fox protested against it. Jewell, then celebrated as the champion of the church, spoke harshly against the usages, and assigned the queen's inflexible adherence to them as his motive for acquiescence. Elizabeth, who had a queen's jealousy of power, and a woman's passion for splendour, became so much incensed by resistance, that she proceeded to extremities which ended in a lasting separation of the puritans from the church. The publications which issued from the ecclesiastical opposition were forbidden by decrees of the court of star-chamber. Proclamations were issued against the printers, and even readers, of books unlicensed by the ordinary. Jewell refused to license an apology by one of the accused, saying, — "I am afraid of printers; their tyranny is terrible."* After several deprivations and depositions by the commissioners who executed the queen's authority as ruler of the church, — after a strong manifestation of the aversion of the youth of Cambridge from impositions on conscience by human jurisdiction, — a meeting of about 100 persons was, on the 10th of June, 1567, entered by the officers of justice, who apprehended fourteen of them, and brought them before the privy council, on charges of absence from their parish church, and of having used a form of worship different from that enjoined by lawful authority. Several of them who refused to submit were imprisoned, but soon released: thus began, in England, the persecution of protestants by their fellow dissenters from the church of Rome.† The principle of intolerance was affirmed by deeds as well as by words. The minor machinery of persecution was put together and set up, — nay, it was brought into activity; a pernicious example little excused by the limited extent of its immediate mischief.

No English blood had for ten years been shed on the

lived abroad in the reformed churches of Geneva, Switzerland, or Germany."

* Strype, Ann. vol. i. part ii. chap. lii. p. 272.

† Strype's Parker, chap. xvi.

scaffold or in the field for a public quarrel, whether political or religious. In this important respect, that period forms a happy contrast with the ten years which preceded. It is probable that no great country could for centuries have boasted the like felicity. The close of the year 1569 was, unfortunately, distinguished by a revolt, which partook both of a civil and of a theological nature. This was the famous insurrection of Percy, earl of Northumberland, and Neville, earl of Westmoreland, whose domains stretched along the line of the northern border, and whose ungovernable but bold followers, inured to conflict, and trained in the surprises and stratagems of border warfare, placed these lords among the most powerful and independent of the English barons. They were adherents of the ancient religion, which retained its ascendant in the remote provinces; so much, that we learn from sir Ralph Sadler "that there were not then ten gentlemen in the north who approved the queen's measures relating to the church."* They were encouraged to revolt by the measures of the catholic states, and doubtless excited to it by express assurances of effectual succour from abroad. Philip II. broke through his frozen reserve when he rebuked the duke of Alva for speaking in friendly terms of England, which the king called "a lost and undone realm."† "The case," says sir Nicholas Throgmorton, "is not as in time past, when powerful neighbours contended for superiority. Now, when the general design is to exterminate all nations dissenting with them in religion (as is most apparent), what will become of us if the profession of the like faith with ourselves be utterly destroyed in Flanders and France?"‡ In 1568 Cecil had demanded redress for the detention of English vessels by Spain; and notified to the Spanish ambassadors that preparations were made for resisting these wrongs by arms. In July sir Henry Norris, at Paris, received secret information of designs

* Sadler, ii. 55. Letter to Cecil, December 6. 1569.

† "Perdido y acabado Reyno." Note from Harrington, secretary of legation at Madrid. Haynes, 472.

‡ Throgmorton to Cecil. Haynes, 471.

against Elizabeth, whose government was to be overthrown by the rescue of the queen of Scots, and by a revolt at home, supported by Spanish and even French troops, by aid from the duke of Alva, and with sanction and supply from the supreme pontiff. Ridolpho, a Florentine banker in London, was the secret agent of the pope in exciting the catholics to revolt.* As the moment for action approached, Morton, formerly a dignitary of the Roman catholic church at York, was sent from Italy, whither he had retired, with the title of apostolical penitentiary, to persuade his kinsmen in the north to take up arms for the restoration of religion.† Nothing could more effectually promote his purpose than the tidings of which he could not fail to be the bearer,—that Pius V. had issued or prepared a bull against Elizabeth, which, with the temper and pretensions of the eleventh century, anathematised the queen and all her adherents as heretics; deprived her of her pretended right over England; absolved all her subjects from the oath and the duty of allegiance; and enjoined, under pain of excommunication, all the inhabitants of her dominions, that they should not dare to obey her laws or commands.‡ In consequence of apprehensions thus excited, the queen of Scots was removed from Bolton, where she had too many catholic neighbours, to Tutbury Castle, a place more distant from the borders. White, a gentleman of Elizabeth's household, warns Cecil against suffering many to have conference with her. "For besides," said he, "that she has a goodly personage, she hath withal an alluring grace, a pretty Scottish speech, and a searching wit, clouded (*softened*) with mildness.§ She found means in her new dwelling to despatch secret messages to

* Norris to Cecil. Paris, July 7. 1568. Haynes, 466.

† Camd. i. 194. Dod, ii. 114.

‡ Dod, ii. 306. This famous bull, "Regnans in excelsis," &c., is dated by Camden and Dod 5 Calend. Mart. 1569, which, in modern language and style, would be the 23d of February, 1570. One copy Dod found dated 5 Cal. Mail, 1570, which would make it two months later.

The activity of Pius V. in fomenting insurrection in England may be seen in his life by Hieronymo Catena, first published at Rome in 1588. The writer brings the narrative down to the trial of the duke of Norfolk. The substance is in Camden.

§ White to Cecil, Feb. 26. 1568. Haynes, 509.

Westmoreland, Northumberland ; Radcliffe, a brother of lord Sussex ; Leonard Dacres, the uncle of lord Dacres ; and to the families of Norton and Tempest, men of tried fidelity to the ancient church. Hartlepool, in the bishopric of Durham, was chosen to be the port where the auxiliaries to be supplied by the duke of Alva were to land. The buzz of so many hostile preparations, in distant and various quarters, would have reached a government less watchful than that of Elizabeth.

Rumours of an insurrection were prevalent early in the autumn*, which caused the earl of Sussex to be sent to take the command in the north. Lord Hunsden was shortly after despatched to Berwick, to second Sussex. After several ineffectual efforts to recall the border chiefs to their duty, the queen summoned them, on the duty of their allegiance, to repair to her court.† Northumberland paused at the near approach of peril. His followers, distrusting his wavering and inconstant disposition, now shrinking from the fearful consequences which, in a moment of rashness inspired by religious zeal, he had irrevocably incurred, had recourse to the expedient of conquering his fear of distant peril by the fear of present danger. He was roused at midnight by one of his servants, named Beckwith, who frightened his master by calling on him hastily to arise and shift for himself ; for that his enemies, Ulstrop and Vaughan, were about the park, and had beset him with great numbers of men. He ran to the house of one of his gamekeepers, without waiting to ascertain who or how many his enemies were. The bolder conspirators caused the bells of his town of Alnwick to be rung backward, in order to increase the numbers, the consternation, and confusion of the multitude. On the next day he was driven into the irreparable act of marching at the head of his vassals to join Westmoreland at Brancespeath. In the manifesto of these two lords they declared it to be their purpose, in concert with the other nobility of the realm, to pro-

* Camden.

† Queen to West. and North. Nov. 10. 1569. Haynes, 552.

vide for the safety of her majesty's person ; to rescue her out of the hands of evil counsellors ; to obtain liberty for their consciences ; and to settle true religion on such foundations as might supersede the interference of foreign princes, who would otherwise interpose to cure the long distempers of this distracted island.* On their march to Durham they manifested their fidelity to the faith of their fathers by a flag, on which the body of Christ, with the five wounds received in the crucifixion, was painted, which was borne before their van by Mr. Norton, a venerable old gentleman of the country, who, with his five sons, devoted himself for the restoration of his religion.† They purified the cathedral of Durham by burning the heretical (and probably in their opinion unfaithful) versions of the Bible, and the books of public devotion, which had been profaned by heretics. On the 14th of November, at Darlington, the earls and their followers publicly heard mass. In about nine days after, they mustered 9000 men on a moor near Witherby ; a force with which they had intended to march against York, had they not been induced by the advance of some of the queen's troops, who threw themselves into that city, to secure the country behind them by laying siege to the fortress of Barnard's Castle, which occupied the revolvers for eleven critical days. On the 6th of December, Sussex began his march from York against the insurgents, and established his head-quarters at Hexham on the 20th, and when the insurgents had retreated almost to the border of Scotland, at Neworth Castle, in Cumberland. The earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland fled to Scotland, leaving their followers to the mercy of an exasperated party, whose execution of justice was accounted in their own age rigorous, and would in our times be justly deemed cruel.

* Holinshed, iv. 235.

† The share of the Nortons in this revolt, and the extinction of their family, are the subject of Mr. Wordsworth's *White Doe of Rylstone*, — a poem in which the blended powers of history and legend, placed amidst beautiful scenes, and enthroned as it were in the remains of ancient piety, breathe a sage and solemn strain of poetical sentiment.

Our information concerning particulars is here more than commonly defective. On the 4th or 5th of January, "sixty-six constables and others" were executed at Durham. Sir George Bowes, charged with the administration of martial law, executed many favourers of the rebellion in "divers places of the country." * Northumberland fled to Scotland; and being made prisoner in the castle of Lochleven by Moray, he was, long after, surrendered by Morton to the English government, who caused him to be executed at York. Westmoreland also ran across the borders, where he was welcomed by the Carrs † and Scotts, two border tribes, who were partisans of Mary. A signal act of baseness was perpetrated on this occasion by one whose pride and prejudice might have been deemed a security for his superiority to such degrading falsehood. Robert Constable, the son of an ancient and distinguished family in Yorkshire, tendered his services to sir Ralph Sadler, first as a spy to discover the number of the rebels; but soon after the flight of the two earls into Scotland (to use his own words), "I waded deeply into a more treacherous kind of service, to trap them that trusted in me, as Judas did Christ." His intended victim was the earl of Westmoreland, who was either his uncle or his cousin. ‡ At Fernihurst, where the fugitive earl had been sheltered, Constable urged him to throw himself upon the mercy of the English government, as his best or only chance. The rest can be adequately told only in his own words: — "The tears overhayed his cheeks abundantly: I could not forbear to weep to see him suddenly fall to repentance. When we retired into a secret chamber he said,

* Holinshed, iv. 337. This appears to be the narrative nearest to the events; and it is corroborated by the insertion of some names. Modern writers, by leaving out the words "and others," and by representing Bowes's executions to have occurred in every village from Newcastle to Wetherby, have exaggerated severities which were doubtless excessive. Lealie, who is quoted by Hume, is not an admissible witness against Elizabeth's lieutenants.

† Carr of Fernihurst (the ancestor of the marquis of Lothian), according to Dugdale, i. 301. Sir R. Sadler tells us, that lady Northumberland, with lord Westmoreland, Norton, Tempest, and Radcliffe, were "maintained against the regent's will by lord Hume, Fernihurst, Buccleugh, Johnstone," and other border chiefs. Sadler, ii. 96.

‡ Dugdale, i. 301.

‘Cousin Robert, you are my kinsman, nearly come forth from my house, and one whom I trust and dearly love.’” * Though the remembrances of near kindred did not shake the purpose of Constable, he knew how to turn it to account, by reminding his employer what obstacles of affection he conquered in his zeal for the public cause, and how much his importunate demand for large sums of money were justified by such heroic sacrifices.

The treachery of Constable did not inveigle Westmoreland into the snare. But it affords a frightful example of a government accepting the service of infamous men, who entice accused or suspected persons to be slaughtered, on pretext that they only bring forward the lurking disposition to guilt, which would otherwise have been mischievously exerted; a practice which in general offences against society is an attempt to do the works of justice by the power of depravity, and in political charges has the additional fault of bolting the doors of sanctuary against those whose defeat may be their only crime. The earl of Westmoreland escaped into Flanders, and died in 1584, in the station beneath his habits, and, it may be hoped, abhorrent from his feelings, of commandant of a Spanish regiment, in the midst of the indignities and wrongs to which emigrants are often doomed, against which his own dignity, age, and calamities did not protect him, and which were unsparingly practised towards those unpitied Englishmen who, as we shall see afterwards, had betrayed to the enemy the important fortresses intrusted to English faith. †

In defiance of victory and rigour, Leonard Dacres, uncle of the lord Dacres of the north, renewed the rebellion towards the close of January, 1570, when he collected 3000 men at Naworth castle, which was his dwelling, and which is still preserved, a beautiful specimen of the border architecture of that age. ‡ On the 22d of Fe-

* Sadler, ii. 110—124.

† “The estate of English fugitives under the king of Spain.”—*Sadler*, ii. 208—330. A very curious tract, probably written to serve a purpose; but bearing many marks of tolerable veracity and accuracy.

‡ Now a seat of the earl of Carlisle.

January, 1570, on the banks of the small river Chelt, near Naworth, Dacres made a hardy onset against the queen's army under her kinsman lord Hunsden. The fight was sharp and cruel, and the event for a while very doubtful; for the frenzy of the catholic party might be estimated from the fact, that there were in the ranks of the revolvers many desperate women, who not only fought stoutly, but inflamed and shamed their companions into mortal resistance.

Three hundred were killed on both sides, which contemporaries considered as a great slaughter; as it might, perhaps, be generally deemed, being probably about a twentieth part of the number of the combatants. Dacres escaped by the speed of his horse into Scotland. Executions at York followed, of which we have few particulars; and general submission was restored.

During these disturbances, on the 22d of January, 1570, the regent earl of Moray was assassinated by Hamilton of Bothwell-haugh, from motives of private revenge. On the very day of the murder, Buccleugh and Fernihurst, as if not unconscious that the strong arm which had often curbed their career was withdrawn by that crime, entered the northern counties of England, burning and destroying the houses of friends and enemies in a spirit of impartial rapine.† To take revenge for this inroad, as well as to punish the Scotch borderers for their aid to the catholic insurgents, Sussex commanded Scrope and Porter, his lieutenants, to march into Scotland, with instructions to plunder, waste, burn, or otherwise destroy whatever they met. Lord Scroop and sir John Foster, at the same time, carried fire and sword through various parts of the Scottish border. They demolished the castles of Home and Fernihurst. Hamilton, the greatest of the fortified dwellings in the accessible portion of Scotland, fell under their destroying hands. A few of their stragglers entered Edinburgh, rather as a mode of showing defiance and triumph than with any more serious purpose. Satiated with a month's ravage and destruction, they returned without molestation.

* Holinshed, iv. 237.

† Hist. of James VI., 43. ed. Edinburgh, 1825.

The fate of Moray's name is singular, even among conspicuous and active men, in an age torn in pieces by contending factions. Contemporary writers agree in nothing, indeed, but his great abilities and energetic resolution. Among the people he was long remembered as "the good regent," partly from their protestant zeal, but in a great measure from a strong sense of the unwonted security of life and property enjoyed in Scotland during his vigorous administration.* His catholic countrymen abroad bestowed the highest commendations on his moral character, which are not impugned by one authenticated fact. But a powerful party has for nearly three centuries defamed and maligned him, in order to extract from the perversion of history a hypothetical web to serve as a screen for his unhappy sister,—in the formation of which they are compelled to assume, that she did nothing which she appeared to have done; and that he did all that he appears to have cautiously abstained from doing.

The English revolt seemed thus to be finally extinguished by the triumph of Sussex over the partisans of Mary in Scotland. That revolt was deeply connected with the facts which, after its suppression, led to judicial proceedings of the highest sort against the first subject in the realm. The duke of Norfolk, no unworthy son of the illustrious Surrey, heir to his vast possessions and princely descent, added to that share in Elizabeth's favour which belonged to the noblest of her mother's kindred, the better sources of influence which arose from his own excellent qualities. Among these were particularly distinguished a facility of temper, and a generous proneness to trust, which, though they always contribute to the charm of private life, are in troublous seasons sometimes irreconcilable with the sternness which may then become indispensable, either to the uniformity of inflexible virtue, or to the success of daring ambition. Though he professed the protestant faith, yet, like others of the

* Thuani Histor. ubi supra.

old nobility who were embribe~~d~~ by grants of church lands, he was indulgent, if not favourable, to the adherents of the ancient religion. The queen, who had bestowed on him the offices and dignities for which he was well fitted, gave him the highest proof of her confidence by appointing him her first commissioner in the tribunal, or rather deputation, who were to hear the arguments of the queen of Scots, as well as of her revolted subjects, and to determine what influence their respective proofs and reasonings should have over the measures of the queen of England. Thus placed at the head of a body, which, in spite of every protestation to the contrary, was to determine between sovereigns and nations, the perils of his slippery eminence were augmented by his compassionate nature and susceptible heart. To enter into the particulars of these conferences would be unseasonable when we are concerned only in their influence, and otherwise needless, because the facts and reasonings then under consideration have already been summarily recounted. A few sentences will be sufficient to render their effects on Norfolk's conduct intelligible. In the conference at York on the affairs of Mary, which met the 4th of October, Norfolk and Sussex were the representatives of Elizabeth; Leslie and Herries were the agents of Mary; and Moray, Lethington, and Buchanan were conspicuous among the deputies of the king and kingdom of Scotland: and it cannot be denied that all of them reflected credit on the governments whom they represented, and on the causes which they espoused. Mary's commissioners complained of facts which were undisputed,—the revolt against their royal mistress, her imprisonment, her compulsory resignation, the mockery of placing her infant son on her throne, and her final expulsion from her native realm, which compelled her to seek refuge in the territories of her royal sister. Moray, afraid to disclose his true defence, made a faint and inadequate answer, still professing that his friends had taken up arms only against the murderer of Darnley, who had seized and ravished the queen; that she was

confined only for a season for her own safety ; that her resignation of the crown was really voluntary ;—in a word, every where substituting forms for facts, and words for things. Mary's reply, as long as the contest remained on this ground, was unanswerable. Moray was thus reduced to the alternative of either acknowledging that he was a rebel and an usurper, or of shutting the door to reconciliation, and cutting off all retreat, by accusing Mary of the most atrocious crimes. As long as he withheld that part of the charge, he considered a compromise with his sister as possible. He persisted in enduring the obloquy of defeat, until he ascertained whether Elizabeth, so long unwilling to support the example of rebellion, would agree to ensure him against the dangerous consequences to himself of his making the accusation, if it should prove to be true. He privately laid before the English commissioners the evidence of her guilt, comprehending the intercepted casket, which contained the love-letters and verses of Mary to Bothwell, and two promises to marry him, of which one was written before his pretended trial, by the hand of the earl of Huntley, still Mary's most powerful and faithful adherent. Norfolk acknowledged that these proofs were unanswerable. Moray's charges and demands were laid by Elizabeth before her privy council, who determined that, till such accusations were answered, it was impossible to receive Mary, or to aid her in remounting the throne. The earl of Lennox now appeared as the avenger of Darnley's blood, and distinctly charged the queen as a principal actor in the murder of her husband. The conferences were adjourned to Hampton Court, without objection on the part of Mary* ; the accusations of Moray being communicated to the bishop of Ross and lord Herries, who refused to make any answer, "unless the queen of Scots were allowed to justify herself in the presence of the queen of England, the whole nobility of the kingdom, and the ambassadors

* October 24. 1568.

of foreign states."* This condition must have been known to the proposers to be equivalent to a negative. It was too late, at the very moment when the accusation assumed its most alarming form, to object to a mode of proceeding in which they had acquiesced while the charges were comparatively trivial. They well knew that the exculpation of Mary from the charge of murder had, from the beginning, been declared to be a preliminary condition to her admission to the presence of Elizabeth. They could not have been ignorant that a numerous assembly, such as that to which they appealed, was in itself not the fittest instrument for extracting truth out of intricate circumstances, even if it had been possible for Elizabeth to stake all the interests of her crown and people on the issue of the harangues of a single day. "Had the objections to the documentary proof against Mary," says one of the greatest of historians, "been ever so specious, they cannot now be hearkened to ; since Mary, when she could have been fully cleared, did in effect ratify the evidence against her, by recoiling from enquiry at the critical moment."†

During the progress of this investigation the ambition of Norfolk was awakened, and perhaps his pity, if not his tenderness, touched, by the prospect of a marriage with the queen of Scots. Commiseration,—the restraint of nature on absolute power,—began then to act on behalf of that princess with a force which has not been spent in three centuries ; and if it was aided in the bosom of the duke of Norfolk by the renown of beauty and by the lustre of crowns, he will not on that account be severely blamed by those who look with some indulgence on the last infirmities of noble minds. Moray encouraged his hopes during the conference at York, as he himself alleged, because he did not know that it was displeasing to Elizabeth ; but probably still more because he thought that such a marriage might, with due secu-

* Anderson, Collect. iii. 31. Leslie's Negotiations.

† Hume, Hist. of England, chap. xxxix.

rities, compose the disorders of Scotland.* The consent of the kings of France and Spain to the marriage was secretly obtained; and the duke of Alva urged the necessity of amicable agreement with England.† On the approach of the northern revolt, in 1569, Elizabeth became more alarmed at the projects ascribed to Norfolk. That nobleman had, with his colleagues at York, manifested the utmost horror at the contents of the intercepted casket, and intimated, as strongly as deference to the judgment of their mistress would allow, their belief that the papers were genuine.‡ He even privately owned to Leslie that "he bare a good will towards the queen of Scots, but that he had seen the letters which Moray had to produce against the queen, by which such facts would be proved as would dishonour her for ever."§

Elizabeth, strongly suspecting that Norfolk had fallen into the snares laid by Mary's partisans, expostulated with him on the dangerous councils to which he seemed to lean. "Bethink yourself," said she, "of the pillow on which you are about to lay your head."|| He answered:—"I will never marry a person with whom I could not be sure of my pillow." The words of Elizabeth conveyed a bitter sarcasm against the queen of Scots, and were perhaps meant also as a covert menace to the duke; but they seem to have proceeded from rough friendship for him. His adoption of so terrible an imputation thrown upon the princess to whose hand he aspired, though on all suppositions inconsistent with

* "Moray affirmed that marriage to be most commodious to the weal and honourable contentation of both queens, and to the common quiet of the two realms; trusting that the queen of England would like it well, as the duke and her subject would govern the queen and realm of Scotland to her devotion."—*Leslie's Account of his Negotiations in England, in Anderson's Collection*, iii. 57.

† *Ibid.* 63.

‡ "They showed us one long and horrible letter of her own hand, as they say, containing foul matter, abominable to be thought of. The letters discourse of some things which were unknown to any other than herself and Bothwell; and as it is hard to counterfeit so many, so the matter of them, and the manner in which these men came by them, are such that as it seemeth that God, in whose sight murder is abominable, would not permit the same to be hid or concealed."—*Letter of Norfolk and the other Commissioners to the Queen*. York, Oct. 11. 1568. *And.* vol. iv. part 2. p. 58.

§ Confession of bishop Leslie in the Tower. Murdin, 53.

|| *Cambd.* t. 188. "Ut caveret an pulvino caput inclinaret."—*Haymes*.

his high character, would be such a strain of dissimulation, if it were insincere, that Elizabeth was warranted in trusting to its truth.*

Norfolk was confined to the Tower on the 9th of October, 1569, where he continued till the 4th of August, 1570, the day following that of the trial of Felton, for posting up the bull of Pius V. to depose Elizabeth; when he was enlarged, to the great joy of all men †, on a written engagement never to take any steps towards the marriage, without the permission of Elizabeth; and he was allowed to return to his own mansion, under the mild custody of Henry Neville.‡ Thirteen months after this deliverance, he was once more committed to the same inauspicious prison, charged not only with his former untried treason, but with a new offence of the same heinous character, in his revival of negotiations with Mary, Philip II., the duke of Alva, and Pius V., for the invasion of England.

To form a just estimate of our ancient trials, will be owned, by all who have attempted it, to be no easy undertaking. Our accounts of them are often deficient; still oftener unsatisfactory, from the popular manner in which they are composed, and their want of the legal phraseology, which, though it perplexes the general reader, yet, by its precision and permanence, enables a lawyer either then or afterwards to make an intelligible translation of it into common speech. To the difficulties arising from these circumstances, it must be added, that the rules of evidence (to say nothing of other principles of law) which were then observed were often diametrically opposite to those now accounted inviolable; our ancestors being sometimes accustomed to jumble together, undiscerningly, all kinds and degrees of proof; while we, rushing to the contrary extreme, by our rigorous maxims have excluded very valuable information. In considering a trial of ancient times, we ought

* Cecil, Diary, in Murdin, 768.

† "Quo die Feltonus in judicium vocatus, cum dux Norfolciensis ad suas ades magnâ cum omnium lætitiâ emittitur, ubi sub libra Henrici Neville custodiâ ageret."—*Camd.* ii. 216.

‡ Probably Sir Henry Neville, afterwards lord Abergavenny

to reserve our censure for cases in which either the inviolable and unchangeable principles of reason, justice, and humanity were violated, or where the rules of law, as they were understood, and as they were practised towards men in general, were, in defiance of even-handed justice, withheld from some individuals.*

Under the first head of charge, it was sufficiently established that he secretly sought marriage with a princess who had never renounced her pretensions to the crown of England; that he had given clandestine counsel to the rebel lords; that he had made private advances of money to the rebels in Scotland, who were the queen's enemies; that he had thrown out hints, easily intelligible, that, if his marriage were forbidden by his sovereign, he should not shrink from maintaining his claims by arms; and that he had obtained promises of support in his pursuit, from the mighty potentates of the Continent, who were conspiring the destruction of England.

The new treason materially consisted in the fact that, after he had been forgiven and enlarged by Elizabeth, and when she had given him the fairest earnest of a legal pardon, he had again renewed his secret intercourse with the queen of Scots, in breach of all his promises; and that, in spite of a clemency for which he had professed gratitude, he had once more listened to the proposals of Rudolphi and the holy allies of Bayonne, for taking a part in measures which aimed at the deposition of the queen of England, and were likely to terminate in her destruction.

Rudolphi, a Florentine banker, appears to have been sent

* I should not have said so much on a legal proceeding, if I had not been compelled, in some degree, to dissent from one of the most valuable, and, I must add, one of the most interesting, works of this age, — Mr. Phillipp's abridgment of the State Trials, which wants nothing but a continuation of equal merit. That want may not indeed be soon supplied; for it is the work of a man who surveys the most contested, the most obscure, and the most bloody proceedings in our history, with the sagacity, probity, and sincerity of the wisest magistrate.

I rather agree, however, with Mr. Hume, who considers the proceedings against Norfolk as considerably justified by the ordinary practice of the age. Phillipp's Abridgment, i. 32, 33.

by Mary as her minister to the pope, the king of Spain, and the duke of Alva, to obtain aid in money and troops. He brought back favourable assurances, to be delivered to the queen of Scots and the duke of Norfolk, whose union was assented to by these great personages, although the king of Spain endeavoured to clog it with the condition that Norfolk should declare himself a catholic, and that the prince of Scotland (entitled king by the rebels) should be sent for education into Spain. Rudolfi declared to the privy council that he had proposed to Norfolk an insurrection, for the purposes of obtaining a repeal of the laws against catholics, and the consent of the queen to the union of Mary with the duke, to be carried into effect either by the means of English insurgents alone, who were to seize the queen's person, or through a junction with the duke of Alva, who had undertaken to land in England at the head of 10,000 men.

Norfolk was brought to trial for these offences, in January, 1572, before the lord steward, and twenty-six lords triers. He conducted himself with dignity, and defended himself with an ability which the accounts of historians, who vie with each other in praise of his virtues, would not have taught us to expect. On the other hand, Wilbraham, attorney-general of the court of wards, distinguished himself by early specimens of that genuine eloquence, which, by its power over reason and feeling, influences the course of human affairs.* There is no reasonable ground for doubting that the duke of Norfolk had actually incurred the penalties of treason. The secret matters urged against him on his trial, tally so exactly with well known facts, and with his own admission of his intercourse with the catholic princes, and of his clandestine renewal of negotiations for the delivery and espousal of Mary, which could hardly have been effected without force, that all the confessions of the other conspirators seem only to reveal the natural con-

* State Trials, i. 938.

sequences of his acknowledged conduct.* That the depositions of witnesses not confronted with the prisoner were read against him, is an instance of a most defective jurisprudence; but, being general, it neither affords a presumption that the government had any thing to hide, or that wrong was intended against the duke of Norfolk. It is otherwise with torture, or even with threats, which, without any reference to established rules of law, have in their own nature a tendency to abate or to destroy the value of testimony obtained by employing them. But this important consideration is outweighed, in the case of Norfolk, by the subsequent silence of the bishop of Ross, one of the witnesses whose depositions were read, who, though he outlived Norfolk for many years, in which he never had any measures to keep with Elizabeth, neither alleged that his own examinations were falsified, nor contradicted the accounts given by others of negotiations of which he had the chief conduct.

Norfolk's protestations against the charge of an attack on the queen may be reasonably considered as referring to plans of assassination. It is also an act of justice to observe, that he, whose ancestors had taken so large a part in the wars of York and Lancaster, probably regarded a rising for a redress of grievances as being not only, as it is sometimes, innocent or meritorious in the eye of conscience, but perhaps as not amounting to treason in point of law. He was unanimously found guilty, and judgment of death was necessarily pronounced upon him. But Elizabeth hesitated to inflict it on so popular a nobleman,—the chief of her nobility, her own friend and near kinsman. A warrant for execution had been issued on the 8th of February, but it was countermanded at the unusual hour of eleven at night. After two other warrants had been countermanded in like manner†, a fourth was obtained from

* Murdin, i. 175. compared with Anderson's Collections, iii., forms a vast mass of unanswerable evidence.

† Despatches of Fénelon, quoted by Carte.

her, as she seems to intimate, by importunate counsel, on the 30th of April, which she countermanded with her own hand at the unseasonable hour of two o'clock in the morning. These circumstances are more indicative of conflicting emotions, than of the hypocritical policy to which they have been ascribed.* We learn from Cecil that the queen "was somewhat sad" after the death of Norfolk.† It is not unreasonable to believe with Camden‡ that Norfolk would have been spared if the rumour of conspiracy to release him had not supplied the sterner statesmen with a specious reason for his execution. He was put to death on the 8th of June, 1572. He was the only nobleman who perished on the scaffold during the first fourteen years of Elizabeth's reign. The people, to whom he was endeared by his benignity and gracious deportment, not to mention the fine proportions of his person and the manly beauty of his countenance, were moved to compassion by the fate of so excellent a man.§ They called to mind the fortunes of his father, adorned as he was by the fame of letters and of arms, who had five and twenty years before perished on the same spot. Elizabeth betrayed her sense of the odium of the execution of the most popular of her nobility, when his sister, lady Berkeley, two years after, having knelt down to obtain a grace from the queen, the latter answered in haste, "No! no! my lady Berkeley! We know you never will love us, for the death of your brother."|| Sir Ralph Sadler, in a letter full of insolence and sarcasm, described the impression of Norfolk's conviction on the queen of Scots, whose prison was at that time at Sheffield. During the week of his arraignment and trial, "she never once looked out of her chamber." When she heard the conviction noised abroad in the household, "this queen wept very bitterly, so that my lady Shrewsbury found her weeping and mourning so as to ask the queen what ailed

* Ellis, ii. 262.

† Camd. 255.

‡ Fossbroke's Extracts from Smythe's Lives of the Berkeleys, 190. London, 1821.

† Digges, 212.

§ Ibid. 255.

her ; to which she answered, that my lady could not be ignorant of the cause." * What previous faults of such a woman could dispose a manly spirit to withhold fellow feeling from her when she was in the hands of a gaoler, who made her generous sorrows the subject of scurrilous ribaldry ?

A great part of the conspiracy to restore Mary through the means of an union with Norfolk, was carried on by Leslie, her representative at the court of London, who was committed to the Tower, where he confessed more important circumstances than were suitable to his deserved reputation for faith and firmness. This prelate complained loudly that the sacred, because most useful, privileges of ambassadors were violated in his person. To his remonstrances the English government returned a twofold answer. They contended that the exemption of ambassadors from those laws to which all other resident aliens were amenable, had for its professed purpose and sole object the preservation of amity with foreign states ; but that a crime so flagrantly adverse to this object as high treason could not be embraced within diplomatic inviolability. They urged, again, that as sovereigns negotiate only on behalf of the communities who own their authority, a dispossessed sovereign wanted the quality most essential to the right of sending ambassadors ; that Leslie was no more than the ordinary agent of a princess who, by her abdication, had become a private individual, and that Elizabeth could not consent to clothe her agent with the immunities of the diplomatic character, without contradicting her own recognition of the young king of Scots, and betraying the interests of her neighbours and friends, the successive regents of Scotland.

The English civilians, who were consulted on this grave occasion, determined that the most legitimate ambassador would forfeit his immunities by exciting rebellion against the state with which he was commissioned to cultivate friendship ; and that the agents of a prince

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* Ellis, second series, II. 329.

legitimately deposed could not be clothed by him with the irresponsibility of a public minister. On the other hand, they answered, that a prince not legitimately deposed, and imprisoned in a foreign territory, retained his right of sending privileged ministers: a proposition which seems to be at least laid down with inconvenient latitude.

On the two more pertinent questions, the opinion of the English civilians, though supported by specious reasons, is at variance with the practice of the best times, and would, if enforced, not a little contract that ample security which is essential to the vigorous performance of the arduous duties of an ambassador. Although his perfidy belies his mission, yet there are cases in which a foreign state may think fit to treat those acts as treason which his own government may direct as an execution of their lawful command. Treason, though more directly opposed to a minister's duty than any other crime, is also the very offence in which a fair trial is most nearly impossible. In modern times, the doctrine and usage agree in vesting in the offended state the right of sending back the delinquent minister, and of using such means of expelling him from its territory as are absolutely necessary to its own safety. The answer to the second question would, in strict law, have been unexceptionable, if the legality of the deposition had not been needlessly introduced, and if permanent dispossession were substituted for legal deposition: for the right of establishing inviolable ministers depends on the fact, that a nation obeys a government who can regulate the conduct of their subjects to foreigners;—not upon the often very doubtful question whether the actual rulers are also lawful, which no foreign state can justly determine. The length of possession however, the origin of power, and the character of its exercise, are important though undefinable circumstances, which, in cases where possession and obedience are disputed, may affect the policy of foreign states.*

* Those who are disposed to investigate this subject, will find it most learnedly treated by Rynkershoek, "*De Foro Legatorum*." Opp. ii. 121. edit.

About a year before the execution of the duke of Norfolk, Dr. Story, a catholic civilian of considerable note, suffered death, though not for his religion. This man, who was professor of civil law at Oxford under Henry VIII., and opposed the reformation with ability in the house of commons on the accession of Edward, became in the reign of Mary one of the chief instruments of Bonner's butcheries. After the death of Mary, he declared that, far from regret for these executions, he rather lamented that "instead of lopping off boughs and branches, the axe was not laid to the root of the tree:" words which portended no good to Elizabeth. Soon after her accession he fled to Antwerp, where Alva, after the reduction of that city, took him into the Spanish service, and employed him in the occupation of a spy, which nothing but his furious zeal could have disposed him to endure. To the English residents or traders he became necessarily odious, and their hatred against him was embittered by a proclamation interdicting all commercial intercourse with Hamburgh and northern Germany, to prevent the contagion of heresy from spreading into the Netherlands, and with the special purpose of distressing the English merchants. Some of these traders took their revenge by sending a messenger to inform Story that an English ship had just arrived full of heretical books, and that no time was to be lost if he wished to hinder the vent of such poison. He hastened to the shore, and on entering the ship went below, where he was told that the pestilential volumes were hidden. No sooner was he caught in the snare, than Packer, the master, caused the hatches to be shut down, immediately set sail for England, and on his arrival delivered his prey to the more regular authority of the magistrates of Yarmouth. The privy council thanked these magistrates as for an act of spoils-

1761; the classical work on the question. The majority of readers will be satisfied with Vattel, lib. iv. c. 7, 8, 9; and, for the modern practice, they will find "Klüber, *Droit des Gens moderne de l'Europe*," 1819, and "Martens's *Précis du Droit des Gens*," 1821, useful.

taneous loyalty *, which had been the first means of apprising the council that Story was a prisoner.

On his trial, when he was charged with various acts of treason against the queen, he defended himself on the ground that he was not an English subject, having sworn allegiance to Philip ; in answer to which, his accusers contented themselves with asking where he was born ; and on his answering " In England," they condemned him, on the principle that no man can renounce his subjection to the government of his native country, which was then undisputed in Europe, and is still established in Great Britain. On the 1st of June, 1571, he suffered the inhuman punishment inflicted by a barbarous law on traitors, of which some writers have particularised the horrible circumstances in the narrative of his case, as if it had been peculiar to him, and as if it had not been for ages before and after his execution the legal punishment of treason. It must be added that, in civilised times, when executioners, more humane than lawgivers, by inflicting death before the execution of the other unspeakable horrors of the sentence, had practically abrogated the law, and converted what was meant for torture of the living into indignities offered to the remains of the dead, there were not wanting statesmen and lawyers, otherwise of good character, in the British house of commons, who made an obstinate stand for the retention of a sentence of such indecent and unmanly atrocity, that the particulars of it cannot be exhibited in their native hideousness.†

At the moment when the sky of Elizabeth's reign began to be darkened, three of those versatile politicians who had the art and fortune to slide unhurt through all the shocks of forty years of a revolutionary age, were released from the necessity of farther exertions of their

* Books of Privy Council, Aug. 17. 1570.

† Parliam. Debates, xxv. 576 ; xxviii. Appendix, 84. It should be for ever remembered, that on the 5th of April, 1813, a bill to take away this cannibal punishment, proposed by the wise and virtuous Romilly, was lost in the house of commons by a majority of 55 to 43. In the next session it was indeed carried. Stat. 54 Geo. 3. c. 146.

address. The marquess of Winchester, who had served Henry VII., and retained office under every intermediate government, till he died, in his ninety-seventh year, with the staff of lord treasurer in his hands, is perhaps the most remarkable specimen of this species preserved in history. William Herbert, whom Henry VIII. had enriched by a grant of the monastery of Wilton, and ennobled by the title of Earl of Pembroke, had with open arms devoted himself to every sovereign, and had the nimbleness to acknowledge and desert the excellent queen Jane in her reign of a few days. When Mary restored Wilton to the nuns, he received them, as we are told, "cap in hand;" but when they were suppressed by Elizabeth, he drove them out of the house with his horsewhip, addressing them by an appellation which implied their constant breach of the severe virtue which they had vowed to observe. Sir William Petre, who had been secretary of state under Henry and his three children, was a more favourable sample of the same race, who kept his station by the usefulness of his services, without any vices but those of equal support of good and bad governments.

The parliament, which met in 1571, furnished the first considerable instances of a pacific but vigorous resistance in the house of commons to the power of the crown. It has already been remarked, that the necessity which compelled Henry VIII. to obtain parliamentary concurrence, and thereby national support, to the violent revolutions which he made in the regal succession and in the ecclesiastical establishment, had the most decisive tendency to strengthen the authority of parliament. Both Edward and Mary were obliged for the like purposes to establish the jurisdiction of that assembly by examples of a similar nature. That Elizabeth contributed yet more largely to the same effect, has already appeared in a short review of her previous parliaments, and will be still more conspicuous in the transactions of those which are to follow.

Before this period, the struggles for the establishment

of liberty, though they breathe an exalted spirit, and are pregnant with instructive lessons to the founders and improvers of free institutions, yet occurred in circumstances so unlike ours, and were justifiably mingled with so much violence, that, even where our information respecting them is complete, we cannot venture to follow them closely, or to copy them with that deference which is due to the precedents of a calmer and more near period. Much of what was done by Elizabeth must be blamed; but a great part of it may be explained under an immature constitution, by the perils which encompassed her, and by her popularity, which disposed the people to acquiesce in the irregular measures of a monarch who was rather their leader than their sovereign. This princess, who was so fortunate (whatever might have been her motives) as to be engaged in a constant and hazardous contest for the preservation of national independence and of religious liberty, was easily pardoned by her people for some of those infractions of the rights of individuals, which she was tempted or provoked to hazard. It must be acknowledged that her example was in this respect dangerous to those of her successors who, without the same glorious justification, employed their feeble faculties in more extensive transgressions.

The first impulse towards a somewhat systematical opposition of a political nature arose from religion, the prime mover of all the great events of that age. Strickland, "a grave and ancient man*," like most others zealously well affected to religion, was a member of the sect, or rather party, called Puritans, who were desirous of purifying their worship from practices abused by superstition, and of exalting the fervour of their piety to a pitch which would render it more independent of outward ceremonies. On the 6th of April he moved that a conference be desired with the spiritual lords on the means of bringing all things back to the purity of the primitive church, and to the divine institutions of Christ himself; but more especially to reform the more flagrant

* D'Ewes, 156.

abuses by which papists were allowed to hold ecclesiastical office. "Boys," he said, "were permitted by dispensations to have livings, unqualified men promoted, and some allowed to have too many benefices." The conference was appointed, and several bills for reform in the church were in consequence introduced. Only one, of no great extent, against leasing benefices, was passed into a law.* Strickland was called before the privy council, by whom he was reprov'd for his boldness, and commanded to abstain from attendance in the house of commons till he should have leave. The queen soon yielded to the intimations thrown out that the house would require his presence, and he quietly resumed his seat. The ministers pretended that the restraint laid on Strickland was not on account of words spoken in the house, but for his exhibiting of a bill in the house against the prerogative of the queen, which was not to be tolerated †; meaning probably by these harsh words, that as the act of supremacy had subjected all ecclesiastical matters to the queen as head or ruler of the church, it would be unconstitutional in the commons without her previous recommendation to entertain questions of which the law had intrusted the sole determination to another constitutional authority. On occasion of the house of commons passing bills against non-residence and simony, she caused it to be intimated to them "that she approved their good endeavours, but would not suffer these things to be ordered by parliament ‡;" probably meaning, that she would protect her supremacy by the exercise of her negative, if they proceeded to invade her ecclesiastical prerogative, which the laws had vested exclusively in the crown. The commons were still too unrefined to resent, as a breach of privilege, the communication of her intention respecting proposed measures which she had the undisputed right to reject. Of all pretensions, that which savoured the least of an affectation of unbounded or even inherent power, was a claim derived from that royal supremacy over the church, of

* 13 Eliz. c. 20.

† D'Ewes, 175.

‡ Id. 185.

which the parliamentary origin was so fully established by the recent and very striking examples of its being granted to Henry VIII., continued to Edward, withdrawn under Mary, and restored to Elizabeth.

Wentworth spoke with singular severity of sir Humphry Gilbert, the celebrated navigator, whom he described clearly, though without naming him, as disposed "to flatter and favour the prince; comparing him to a cameleon, which can change itself into all colours saving white, as the speaker to whom he alluded could change himself to all fashions but honesty."* This bitterly personal speech, which did not entirely spare the flattered, though it was aimed against the flatterer, was passed over without animadversion. The house took into consideration the case of nine ancient boroughs which had returned no burgesses to the last parliament †, and resolved that "the burgesses shall remain according to the return, the right of the towns being to be elsewhere examined, if need be." The house had exercised a similar jurisdiction in 1563, in the case of new representatives from boroughs which had not lately made any return.‡ On other subjects affecting the rights of election they exercised judicial power over offences against a free and pure choice of members, by fining the borough of Westbury in the sum of twenty pounds, for the offence of the mayor, who had sold the seat to Walter Long for four pounds. In discussing a bill concerning the validity of the elections of burgesses not residing in or near the boroughs which chose them, the house § was led from these judicial proceedings to general

* D'Ewes, 175. Wentworth was member for Barnstaple, and Strickland for Scarborough. Browne Willis, *Notitia Parliamentaria*, iii.

† East Loo, Fowey, Chichester, East Retford, Queenborough, Woodstock, Christchurch, Aldborough (in Suffolk), and Eye.—D'Ewes, 156—159.

‡ Tregony, St. Germans, St. Mawes, Minehead, Tamworth, Stockbridge.—D'Ewes, 80. "In former times," says the reporter, "it was common for poor or decayed boroughs to escape the payment of wages to burgesses, either by obtaining a licence from the sovereign not to elect, or by discontinuing that privilege themselves by degrees. But of late, since the members of the house, for the most part, bear their own charges, many of the boroughs who had discontinued their privilege resumed it, as the towns above mentioned.

§ By the statutes of 5 Hen. 5. c. 1. and 23 Hen. 6. c. 15., it was enacted, that citizens and burgesses should be inhabitants of the towns which they represented. These ancient laws, after several centuries of avowed disuse, were repealed by 14 Geo. 3. c. 58. The bill adverted to in the text, which did not pass, seems to have had the same object with the repealing statute of George III.

reasonings on changes in the constitution of that assembly itself, not altogether dissimilar to those which in modern times have borne the name of Parliamentary Reform. Loud complaints were made in that debate of nominations of candidates by noblemen: and it was proposed to amerce any borough which should choose according to such nomination, in the (then not inconsiderable) sum of forty pounds. "It was meant," says a speaker whose name is not preserved, "that men from every quarter, and of all sorts, should come to this court, and that they should freely be chosen." Another member proposed that one of the members should be resident, but that liberty should be left in the choice of the other; in order that there might be no want "of men learned and able to utter their opinions."

The same party of zealous protestants, who endeavoured to root out all Romish abuses in the church, were prompted by an equal solicitude to provide against the overthrow of the reformation by the queen of Scots, the catholic successor, whose designs could only be defeated by the marriage of Elizabeth, which would afford some likelihood of a protestant succession. Hence the conflicts of this growing party with the queen on the subject of obtaining the chance of an heir who should be protestant. In the preceding parliament of 1566-7 the queen had expressly forbidden the house to proceed farther; and yet, two days after, she was content to withdraw her inhibition.* The lord keeper, in answer to the speaker of the house of commons, had indeed warned that house, "that they would do well to meddle with no matters of state but such as were propounded to them, and to occupy themselves in other matters concerning the commonwealth."†

It is probable that, if the lord keeper had been urged to explain these alarming words, he would have taken refuge in the distinction between advice and command; that he might have represented "matters of state" as meaning negotiations, international correspondence, and

* D'Ewes, 130.

† Id. 141, 142.

such other pending matters as ought to be left in that secrecy which their nature requires, and from which there is the less reason to drag them, because they cannot, in most cases, be carried into full effect without parliamentary grants, or without laws in which parliament must concur. Grave as the lord keeper was, he might have hinted that the observance of decorum towards the crown, which was a secondary principle of the constitution, almost forbade the exposure of the negotiation regarding the marriage of a female sovereign to the licence of public debate.

Throughout the transactions of these parliaments Elizabeth found herself more than once under the necessity of retiring from the exposed positions to which she had advanced; nor was it only in her abandonment of hazardous measures, but in the frequent lowering of her tone, and more especially in the unsubdued spirit of her opponents, that the progress of parliamentary power may be most clearly discovered. The greatest accession to the authority of parliament, however, arose from the policy necessarily adopted by her, as it had been by her father, of resting on that authority as the foundation of the throne. By the first act of the parliament of 1571, which was professedly founded on present danger, and to continue in force only during the queen's life, many acts were raised to the character of high treason, of which the greater part by judicial construction have since become permanently overt acts of the ancient treason of compassing (or conspiring) the death of the sovereign.

In the fourth section of that statute it was provided, "that any person who shall affirm or maintain that the queen's majesty, with and by the consent of the parliament, is not able to make laws of sufficient force to limit and bind the crown of this realm, and the descent, inheritance, and government thereof, every such person during the life of her majesty shall be adjudged a high traitor, and shall suffer and forfeit as in cases of high

treason."* By this provision the doctrine of inviolable succession was solemnly condemned, the power of altering it was affirmed, insomuch as to subject those who denied it to capital punishment, and that high power was declared to be not in the monarch alone, but in the monarch by the consent of parliament. It is wonderful, that after such a declaration of our constitutional law, a powerful party should have grown up in England on the avowed principle of an indefeasible and indeed divine right of succession.

After the deposing bull, and the audacity with which it was affixed on the bishop of London's palace, a severe measure against papal bulls was naturally to be expected; and if it had been limited within the bounds of reason, would doubtless have been justifiable. But the parliament made it "high treason to obtain or receive from the bishop of Rome any bull, writing, or instrument, containing any matter or thing whatsoever†: a persecuting enactment, which reduced catholics to the alternative of exposing themselves to death, or of foregoing many of those moral relations of life, which were in their opinion legitimatised only by the intervention of papal authority. This statute adopts a principle of cruel injustice, in order to preclude the possibility of some evasion, and outlaws the members of a great communion to avoid the risk of the introduction of a few criminal bulls, under cover of that multitude of them which were perfectly innocent. It might doubtless be said, and is indeed intimated in the preamble of this bill, that those who acknowledged the power of a pope who had issued the deposing bull lived in a permanent state of treason, and granted to the queen no more than a truce till they were better prepared for warfare. By such modes of reasoning, however, all tyranny might be justified, and peace might be forever banished from human society. Greater discrimination in making laws, and a more assiduous vigilance in their execution, will always secure a government as much as that object can

* 13 Eliz. c. 1. s. 4.

† 1 Eliz. c. ii.

be obtained with safety to the permanent well-being of mankind. It must, however, be allowed, that it would be unjust to impute the heaviest blame to an European government of the sixteenth century for not reaching that elevation of justice to which scarcely any state in the nineteenth seems to aspire.

Another cruel act was passed in the same session against emigrants who had left the realm without the queen's licence, subjecting their personal estate for ever, and their landed estates during their lives, to be confiscated, unless they returned within six months of proclamation made to that effect; on the alleged ground that "they carry with them great sums of money to be spent among strangers," besides employing it in the relief of traitors, and carrying on abroad their own treasonable projects.* Enactments of this sort, or of the like barbarity, not thought beneath the standard of the time when they were adopted, still dishonour most codes; and in the present case may be regarded as examples of that bungling tyranny which punishes the innocent to make sure of including all the guilty; as well as of that refined cruelty which, after rendering home odious, perhaps insupportable, pursues, with unrelenting rage, such of its victims as fly to foreign lands.

The puritans, hitherto only a powerful and zealous party within the pale of the church, now meditated a separation from the religious establishment. The disputes continued to hinge on the vestments, and on other usages supposed to be superstitious, which formed a part of the established worship. The eminent divines of this party, at the head of whom was Cartwright, professor of theology at Cambridge, seem to have been content with a connivance at their conscientious non-compliance with the directions of the liturgy; and though they considered a parity among pastors to be more purely apostolic than the rank and power of prelates, they were not unwilling to wait in peace for the

* 13 Eliz. c. iii.

progress of a more perfect reformation. They were more especially ready to subscribe all the doctrinal articles of the church; praying exemption from those only which related to discipline. Perhaps men so ardent and of so much conscious honesty as the puritans would not long have contained themselves within those boundaries of moderation which were likely in time to be looked on with an evil eye as compromises of conscience with convenience. The experiment of lenity was, however, not made. Cartwright was deprived of his professorship.

An act* was passed, subjecting all clergymen, not having received orders according to the formularies of Edward or Elizabeth, to deprivation, unless they subscribed all the articles, and read publicly in their parish churches the certificate of a bishop, bearing testimony that they had fulfilled that condition; without regard to a possession of, perhaps, thirteen years, and with no small disrespect towards the protestant churches, from whom the greatest part of the incumbents thus expelled, by a law substantially retrospective, had received holy orders.

From the beginning of 1567† puritan congregations had been dispersed, and their members apprehended, on the ground that they were unlawful assemblies. It appears to have been the immediate consequences of the laws of the session of 1571, and of the spirit in which they were now administered, that a formal separation from the episcopal church was deemed necessary to the puritans. The order or presbytery of Wandsworth, comprehending a small number of neighbouring ministers, were secretly assembled‡: shunning the animadversions of the law, and formed on the republican equality of the Calvinistic churches, in preference to the limited and impoverished episcopacy which many of them had seen among the Lutherans of Germany and Scandinavia.

* 13 Eliz. c. xii.

† Strype, Life of Parker, i. 480.

‡ Nov. 20. 1572. Neale's History of Puritans, i. 243. Fuller, Church History, book ix. p. 103.

The zealous protestants, who in the beginning of the reformation were called *gospellers*, in derision of their throwing open the New Testament to the ignorant, were now variously called *puritans*, or *precisians*, in ridicule of their affectation of purity in belief and practice. The reformers every where diffused the practice of constant preaching,—one of the means of conversion which they had most successfully employed. Elizabeth was disposed to bring back the liberty of preaching within boundaries more near those to which it was confined in catholic times. She caused a book of homilies to be composed, in order that it might be substituted by the clergy for compositions of their own. She considered the clergy as divided into two classes. The one consisted of those who had been hastily admitted to orders in a moment of need, and whom the catholics contemptuously called the “ignorant *mess Johns* of Elizabeth.” The other was composed of the learned *zéalots*, many of whom were puritanically affected. Elizabeth thought that the indiscretion of the latter, and the ignorance of the former, rendered them equally unfit to be trusted with the formidable power of frequently addressing mixed multitudes from a place of authority on subjects calculated to stir up the strongest emotions, of which a multitude is susceptible. The expedients which were resorted to in order to supply the defects of inexperience and unskilfulness in the preachers, however they might answer their purpose, did not abate the jealousy with which a watchful government eyed the multiplication of opportunities of popular address.

It had become a practice for the ministers of a district to hold meetings in the church of a large town, which received the name of *lectures*, from being often expositions of passages of Scripture, of *propheysings*, in the original sense of that word in which it denoted speaking in public; of *exercises*, because they gave the young preachers the habit of speaking with ease, clearness, and order. Hence, also, they were obliged to prepare themselves by adequate study for the discussion of the mean-

ing of difficult passages in the presence of very numerous audiences. In no long time laymen began to take a part; the hierarchy was questioned, and doctrines deemed heretical were heard. Confusion often prevailed; and the assembly proceeded from wrangling to violence. The puritans were not so lukewarm as to be deterred by petty and worldly inconveniences, which they flattered themselves that they should in the end conquer. They became the leaders of these religious associations, which added strength to the queen's apprehension of the power of popular orators over numerous meetings.

The severities against puritans seem to have partly arisen from the affectation of impartiality, which led the government to balance the rigour against catholics, rendered necessary to the public safety, by the punishment of the opposite class of offenders against the ecclesiastical laws. It happened, also, that the appearances of danger from the continental catholics recruited the number and inflamed the zeal of the party most hostile to Rome, and stimulated them to a stronger opposition against the English church, which had, in their opinion, retained so much of the pretensions of the common enemy. The puritans were neither daunted by authority nor deterred by examples of severity. Cartwright supported them with great power of logic and composition, while Johnson, the chaplain of sir Nicholas Bacon, and Brown, the founder of the sect afterwards called Independents, brought them an accession, which indicated their progress among the higher classes. Lord Leicester, whether instigated by ambitious hopes, which disposed him to pay court to the Dutch Calvinists, or considering the English catholics as peculiarly hostile to him, patronised the party of extreme protestants, certainly with no inducement from pure manners or religious enthusiasm. Elizabeth was mortified by the apparent success of the exulting prophecies of the catholics, who had foretold that the breach in the unity of the church would lead to universal anarchy, as well as incensed at the mutiny of so large a portion of her fol-

lowers; and she believed, like all her contemporaries, that the formation of new bodies in the church without her permission was as flagrant rebellion as the establishment of courts and officers of justice unauthorised by her would be. The excesses of the continental catholics, which were generally followed by hostility against their brethren, sometimes led to measures of rigour against the ultra-reformers, in order to check the scandal of protestant disunion; and sometimes to considerable relaxation from the necessity of a coalition with the most zealous anti-catholics to save the common cause of the reformation from imminent danger.

* The English nation was now divided into three theological and political parties;—the *churchmen*, who considered the ecclesiastical revolution as already sufficient; the *puritans*, who sought a more perfect reformation by agitating the minds of the people; and the *catholics*, who, supported by all the great powers of the continent, did not despair of re-establishing the ancient church by another revolution. These sects constituted the *parties* of Elizabeth's reign. The whole nation were classed under these subdivisions. A considerable body of the ancient church adhered to the catholic religion, a still larger proportion favoured the catholics. The strength of the puritans lay in great towns, the scenes of bold discussion, and the favourite dwelling of prevalent innovations. The queen's preference for the churchmen was inevitable. She disfavoured the puritans, not only for disputing her authority, but, as in her judgment, distracting the protestant party. The season for open war against the catholics was fast approaching.

The members of these three persuasions agreed in their abhorrence of anabaptists; a name under which were then confounded the frantic rabble who revolted in Saxony in 1521; the sanguinary banditti who reigned at Munster in 1533, with the variety of sects, some of ancient though of unascertained origin, which were roused from their wintry torpor by the heat of the reformation. As early, perhaps, as the days of the Vaudois and of Wicliff, some small bodies of Christians consoled them-

selves with the belief that the church described in Scripture was invisible, consisting not of members who professed the same creed, but of the true followers of Christ in all ages and nations; that this kingdom of the Messiah was inaccessible to the wicked, and independent of the frail and dangerous aid of human institutions. Connected with this doctrine was an opinion that this heavenly reign was to be one day realised upon earth, as some of the more sober believed, by the gradual diffusion of christian virtue; or as others more boldly imagined, by stupendous revolutions, which were to pave the way for the visible monarchy of the Messiah, and in the establishment of which they were themselves destined to perform a glorious part, for which they were to be fitted by the apostolic gifts of miraculously healing distempers, and of speaking languages which they had not the natural means to acquire.* The most extravagant of these sects taught "the sinless purity of true christians; that among them there must be a community of possessions; that such a happy state neither allowed ministers in the church nor required magistrates in the state." They rejected oaths, condemned war, and represented infant baptism as a device of the devil. Many of this body of sects, including probably some of the wildest, had sought refuge in England. Among the most noted was "the family of love †," who professed their principle to be, that religion consisted in love towards God and man; that to cultivate this disposition they read the Scriptures and other writings tending to inspire it. They are said to have complied with the catholic worship where it was established, softening its abuses by allegorical interpretation, and professing to adopt from it only that benevolence which is the living principle of religion.

Their strong preference of a pure mind above the best outward conduct subjected them to the insinuation of holding immoral doctrines, which was openly charged on other branches of the same race. "The family of

* Mosheim, cent. xvi. sect. 3. part 2. † Strype's Annals, iii. 556, &c.

the mount" held all things in common, denied the propriety of prayer and the resurrection of the dead, and they questioned even whether there was a heaven or a hell. As these sectaries travelled through mysticism, so "the family of the essentialists," founded by Mrs. Dunbar, a woman of Scotland, were worked up by their conceit of having perfectly purified their souls into an universal system of immorality, holding all outward actions to be absolutely indifferent to the pure in heart. "No man sinneth," said one of them; "whatever is done God does it all."* Speculative absurdities may endure for ages; but errors immediately leading to the destruction of society are generally dissipated by an application of the test of experience.

On Easter day 1575, a congregation of Dutch anabaptists were surprised at Aldgate, of whom twenty-seven were committed to prison. On the 27th of April a commission was granted to the bishop of London, assisted by civilians and judges, "to confer with the accused, and to proceed judicially if the case so required."† Four of them, having recanted their doctrines, were released, after bearing lighted faggots in their hands. From the matters which they were required to abjure, — "that Christ had not taken flesh of the Virgin Mary, that infants ought not to be baptized, that a Christian ought neither to be a magistrate nor to bear the sword, nor to take an oath," — it should seem that though the intelligible part of their doctrines were unreasonable and inconvenient, yet they were not tainted with the worst errors of their kindred sects. Two men (at least) and ten women were convicted, of whom one woman was persuaded to forsake her opinions, eight were banished, two were condemned to be burnt, and probably in the greater part of the remaining cases the court was content with the infliction of corporal punishment.‡ Two men,

* Strype, ubi supra, 562.

† Privy Council Books, April 27th, May 20th, June 26th, 1575.

‡ Corporal punishment is within the scope of the commissioners, as appears from Privy Council Book, 20.; and the supposition hazarded in the text reconciles the jarring statements of numbers by Stowe and Heylin, the earliest authorities.

more conscientious, or more courageous than their brethren, refused to buy their lives by uttering a solemn lie. For this crime they were condemned to be burnt alive in Smithfield. It would not have promoted the purposes of any party to encumber themselves with the defence of miserable men doomed to destruction alike by the prejudices of the vulgar, and by the policy of the powerful, whom the queen was taught to consider as indispensable victims, lest she might be reproached with sparing rebels against God, while she punished traitors against her own earthly and perishable crown.

One man alone, happily above the suspicion that his tolerant spirit arose from religious lukewarmness, had the courageous humanity to embrace the cause of a weak and odious band, full of foreign and obscure heretics, whose gross errors he himself regarded perhaps with more than reasonable abhorrence. This man, worthy to be holden in everlasting remembrance for one of the most rare acts of human virtue, was John Fox, a puritan, the historian of the English martyrs, whom Elizabeth, in spite of his nonconformity, was wont to call by the affectionate and reverential appellation of "my father Fox." The only trial of his influence over her which he made was a letter to her, distinguished by the classical latinity, of which he was no mean master, on behalf of these wretched anabaptists, in which, after bewailing the necessity of breaking the silence which he had hitherto observed towards her *, and declaring his abhorrence of the impious and destructive errors of these sectaries, he implores her in the name of Christ not to re-ignite the flames of Smithfield, which under her happy administration had for seventeen years been cold. "I have no favour for heretics; but I am a man, and would spare the life of man. To roast the living bodies of unhappy men, erring rather from blindness of judgment than from the impulse of will, in fire and flames, of which the fierceness is fed by the pitch and brimstone poured over them, is a Romish abomination, which if it

* Heylin, book ix. 104., where the original was probably first printed.

had not been introduced in a 'barbarous age by the usurping and dictatorial Innocent III.*, never could have crept into any communion professing the meek and merciful religion of the Prince of Peace. There are many degrees of inferior punishment, but for the love of God spare their lives. If that cannot be, (but what should restrain the exercise of your mercy?) at least grant a long respite in which we may reclaim them from their monstrous errors." He is said to have poignantly felt the infliction of such punishment in a place consecrated by the ashes of protestant martyrs.† All his topics are not indeed consistent with the true principles of religious liberty. But they were more likely to soften the antipathy of his contemporaries, and to win the assent of his sovereign, than bolder propositions; — they form a wide step towards liberty of conscience. Had the excellent writer possessed the power of showing mercy, and once tasted the sweetness of exercising it towards deluded fanatics, he must doubtless have been attracted to the practice of unbounded toleration. He gained for them only a respite. The writ de heretico comburendo was issued for the first time under Elizabeth. John Weelmaker and Henry Toorwoort, the two anabaptists, were burnt at Smithfield on the 23d of July, dying, says the chronicler, "with great horror, crying and rearing."‡ This murder, as far as the multitude thought of it, met with their applause. It was considered by others as the ordinary course. But the first blood spilt by Elizabeth for religion forms in the eye of posterity a dark spot upon a government hitherto distinguished, beyond that of any other European community, by a religious administration, which, if not unstained, was at least bloodless.

Whilst the queen thus vigorously, and, as we have seen, sometimes unjustly, repressed the various parties which prevailed among her subjects,* no ruler perhaps

* This ambitious pontiff is condemned with as much severe justice by the abbé Fleury, as by any protestant writer. — Hist. Ecclésiast. liv. lxxv. lxxvi.

† Heylin, ubi supra, 105.

‡ Stowe, 680. Heylin, 105.

ever watched more closely, or consulted more assiduously, those sentiments of a quiescent and somewhat impartial nature, which actuated the classes who possessed most influence over their countrymen, and might be considered as constituting or representing the final judgment of the public. Her festivities and amusements were converted into effectual instruments for discovering and guiding that lasting portion of national opinion. It was her custom to make annual "progresses" through the parts of her dominions not too remote from London, in which she examined the principal towns, and visited the chief gentry of the southern counties. On these occasions, she was attended by a gay and brilliant assemblage of knights and ladies in gorgeous apparel, and on coursers full of fire and grace, mixed with grave personages arrayed in a rich variety of official habits, which excited the inhabitants to hang their houses sometimes with cloth of gold and of silver; thus turning the day of her arrival into a day of festival and jubilee, which amused and delighted the eyes of the humblest of her people. Every graceful saying uttered by her on these joyful occasions flew through the neighbourhood, and left an agreeable impression of her on every age and rank. During her residence at Windsor, her learning rendered her approbation of the exercises at Eton acceptable to the ambitious boys. On her visit to Cambridge, her harangues to the University announced the pupil of Roger Ascham to the academical youth. A well-timed familiarity marked her general demeanour. When on a visit to the old marquis of Winchester, who entertained her jovially at Basing, she said,—"By my troth, if my lord treasurer were but a younger man, I could find in my heart to have him for my husband, as well as any man in England."* At Oxford, in 1566, she rallied Dr. Humphries for his suspected puritanism, saying, "Mr. Doctor, that loose gown becomes you mighty well. I wonder your notions should be so narrow." The harangue of the Greek professor she gra-

* Nich. 56.

ciously answered in the language which it was his province to teach. It was no inconsiderable homage to the free exercise of reason that she allowed such critical questions to be discussed before her, as—“Whether the civil commands of a sovereign are to be obeyed, and whether hereditary monarchy be preferable to that which is elective?” The value of this intercourse was often enhanced by its very homeliness. When the mayor of Coventry presented a handsome and well-filled purse to her, she answered, “I have few such gifts.” It is a hundred pounds in gold.” — “Please your grace,” replied the mayor, “it is a great deal more.” — “What is that?” said she. — “It is,” said he, “the hearts of all your loving subjects.” — “We thank you, Mr. Mayor,” said she, “it is a great deal more, indeed.” The festivities which filled up these progresses were exhibited on the most magnificent scale by the favourite Leicester, at Kenilworth castle, of which the palatial remains still attest the vast dimensions and pristine grandeur. This noble mansion, of which the fame has been recently spread over the world by one of those few men of genius whose works have instantly become a part of the library of the whole European race, was frequently visited by Elizabeth. A very brief summary of the sports and amusements which diverted the royal and noble visitants, and probably still more delighted the people, who always shared in some of them, will afford a faint notion of the diversity of those jarring, but stirring exhibitions. No national sport was omitted. The people and the mob of all ranks were indulged in baiting bulls and bears. Italians, who were rope-dancers, jugglers, and performers of other amazing feats, entertained the guests and the numerous spectators. She was welcomed at the entrance by one who personated “the Lady of the Lake” in the romance of King Arthur. The highest personages assisted in the fantastic but national ceremonies of a bridal, between a handsome pair of the neighbourhood. Music and dancing were blended with hunting and fishing parties. The masques and pageants displayed a

strange jumble of Gothic romance with Grecian mythology, of allegorical persons with the heroes of legend, with a small sprinkling of the warriors whose shadowy forms are dimly perceived on the farthest frontier of history. Jupiter and king Arthur, Saturn and Huon of Bourdeaux, sir Eglamour and Virgil are thrown together marvellously, and perhaps absurdly, but with a prodigality and variety which rudely foreshows the age of Shakspeare. A celebrated reciter of that time, one captain Cox, told all the tales, and repeated all the ballads, which formed the delight of the people from Bevis of Hampton to Clim of the Cleugh. The citizens of Coventry and the farmers of Warwickshire were pleased with finding that the pastimes of their town winter evenings were among the chosen enjoyments of their sovereign.

Very little more can be here said on this subject. Sir Nicholas Bacon was perplexed by the offer of a royal visit, with which he declared that he knew not how to deal, having passed his time on the bench or in counsel more than at court. When she visited him at Gorhambury, she told him that his house was too small for him; to which he answered, "No, madam, your grace has made me too great for my house." She paid twelve visits to Cecil, each of which is said to have cost him 3000*l.*: a sum which seems incredible, if we suppose the value of money of the same denomination to have been then only four times greater than it is at present. Many complaints are extant of the burden which the queen thus threw on her nobility and gentry. But there is some reason to suspect that these complaints were occasionally disguised boasts of royal favours, and that the cost was in other cases amply, though not directly, compensated by the bounty of the crown.

Sir Thomas Gresham, to whom several of these visits were made, was a person whose aggrandisement was a characteristic feature of his age. His father, the son of an ancient and opulent family in Norfolk, had applied himself to merchandise in the reign of Henry VII. He

enriched himself as the chief merchant and money-dealer of Henry VIII. He was favourable to the new opinions in religion ; as well as a remarkable example of that conquest over old prejudice which shrank from traffic as derogatory to a gentleman. Sir Thomas Gresham followed the footsteps of his father on the road to great wealth, as banker to Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth. At the accession of the latter princess, when her exchequer was beggarly, he procured for her, on the credit of the city of London, a large loan at Antwerp, then one of the greatest money markets of the world. He was consulted in his province by Cecil and the council, whom he often brought over to his somewhat reasonable opinions on commercial questions ; and he, at one time, prevailed on the cautious minister to seize great sums of money, sent in Spanish ships by Philip to Alva, under the pretext that the specie belonged to certain Genoese traders, to whom the repayment was guaranteed. In 1570 the queen went, in a solemn and splendid procession, to dine with this great merchant ; and gave the name of " The Royal Exchange " to the handsome building which he had erected for the intercourse of traders. He displayed his mercantile magnificence in his seat at Osterley Park, near Brentford. When his intention to found a college became known, he was besieged by importunate counsellors, who entreated him to choose Oxford or Cambridge, instead of London, where it was known to be his wish to place it. He showed his sagacity in adhering to his first purpose, and founded Gresham College ; — which, however, has long ceased to answer any useful purpose. The growing importance of trade, thus exemplified in the life of Gresham, was evidenced by the multiplication of unskilful and pernicious laws to monopolise navigation, and to regulate the trader in the pursuit of profit, which have not, perhaps, been surpassed by modern ignorance and presumption.

The progress of trade might, however, have been more slow if it had depended alone on those exact cal-

culations of advantage from accessible and well-understood sources which are its natural province. But the voyages of the Spaniards and Portuguese had disclosed to the dazzled imagination of mankind new worlds, and races of men before unknown ; — the owners of treasures, apparently unbounded, which they had neither power to defend, nor skill to extract from the earth. The spirit of commerce mingled with the passion for discovery, which was exalted by the grandeur of vast and unknown objects. A maritime chivalry arose, which equipped crusades for the settlement and conquest of the new world ; professing to save the tribes of that immense region from eternal perdition, and somewhat disguising these expeditions of rapine and destruction under the illusions of military glory and religious fanaticism. Great noblemen, who would have recoiled with disgust from the small gains of honest industry, eagerly plunged into associations which held out wealth and empire in the train of splendid victory. The lord treasurer, the lord steward, the lord privy seal, and the lord high admiral were at the head of the first company formed for the trade of Russia on the discovery of that country.* For nearly a century it became a prevalent passion among men of all ranks, including the highest, to become members of associations framed for the purposes of discovery, colonisation, and aggrandisement, which formed a species of subordinate republics, the vassals of the crown of England. By links like these the feudal world was gradually allied with the commercial, in a manner which civilised the landholder, and elevated the merchant. Among the various objects of maritime expedition, Robert Thorne, a merchant of London, who had long resided at Seville, suggested to Henry VIII. the facility of opening a trade to the Spice Islands and the eastern continent (in spite of the papal distribution of the world) by voyages through the polar seas, farther from Newfoundland to the westward, or round the continent of Scandinavia towards the

* Hakluyt, 304. First edition, 1589.

east. These bold projects were not clogged by too minutely accurate information. "The sea," said Thorne, "can only be dangerous from ice within two or three leagues of the pole."* The distance from England to the Spice Islands by these untried courses would, by Thorne's calculations, be 2000 miles less than the voyage from the Spanish peninsula either westward or eastward. In the last year of the reign of Edward VI. Sir Hugh Willoughby was sent, with three ships, to discover a north-eastern passage to the Indian Seas, by exploring the northern coasts of Europe and Asia; which, though ascertained as far as the north-eastern point of Norway by Alfred, had been so totally covered with darkness that the maps of the sixteenth century were altogether disfigured. This small squadron conveyed nearly 100 mariners, eleven merchants, two surgeons, and one chaplain, besides officers. The issue of the expedition was disastrous. Nothing is known of the fate of Willoughby's own ship, but that the vessel and the frozen bodies of the company were found, in the following year, at the mouth of a river in Lapland; with a melancholy fragment of a manuscript journal, carrying the account of the progress of the voyage to the period of the determination to winter in that inclement region. Richard Chancellor, who commanded one of the ships, reached a solitary port on the White Sea, called St. Nicholas, since grown into the considerable town of Archangel; which he found to belong to a prince who at that time first assumed the title of czar of Muscovy. Ivan Vassilowich IV., who then ruled the Muscovite dominions, was a barbarian of vigorous faculties, who, in the midst of brutal vices and scarcely credible crimes, showed many symptoms of regarding with generous eyes the civilisation which he dimly saw rising beyond his western frontier. Foreign physicians were seen at his court: he procured workmen and artists from England; and a colony of 300 men of useful and even refined occupation were prevented, by the jealousy

* Hakluyt, 251.

of mean monopolists in the Hanse Towns, from embarking for Muscovy in quest of fortune.*

After a toilsome journey of 1500 miles, Chancellor reached the czarian residence of Moscow, which he and his companions estimated to be of the size of the city of London with its suburbs.† The capture of Narva had then procured for the Russians some means of communication with Europe, through the Baltic, which brought to the court of Ivan other foreign envoys besides the English mariner. Among them was Possevino, an Italian Jesuit sent by pope Gregory XIII., and Sigismund baron Hirberstein, ambassadors to Ivan from Charles V. and his successor Ferdinand.

The full account of Muscovy which we owe to these early travellers agrees remarkably with the simple but more descriptive narratives of Chancellor and his successors.‡ The czar esteemed the friendship of Elizabeth, who paid court to him, and offered to him an asylum in her dominions if the hostility of his subjects or his neighbours should render it desirable. He granted ample privileges to the English traders, and expressed a warm desire to wed an English lady from the number of the queen's kinswomen. Though Elizabeth had not always been gentle to the ladies of her blood, she would not assuredly have doomed the most obnoxious of them to a fate so much more cruel than death.§ Some of the favours granted to an English ambassador will afford a specimen of the administration. "Leave for Richard Transham, an Englishman, the czar's apothecary, to go home with his wife and pro-

* L'Evêque, *Hist. de Russie*, iii. 162.

† Hakluyt, 284.

‡ The agreement of Chancellor with the excellent summary of the travels of Herberstein and Possevino, which De Thou has left us, is, in one particular, deserving of notice. The absolute power of Ivan appears to have been founded on the almost divine honour in which the czar was holden. "For," says De Thou, "such is the insane slavishness of the nation, that they believe every man who dies in a state of fidelity to the czar to be a religious martyr, as worthy of future happiness as those who put their trust in Christ." — Thuani *Hist.* lxxi. 8, 9. Possevini, *Moscovia*, 1578. Herberstein *Rerum Moscovit.* Comment. 1558.

§ The Russian ambassador particularly named lady Mary Hastings. It was thought proper that she should allege the excuse of the feebleness of her frame, which unfitted her for such journeys. Hakluyt, 449.

perty; the same permission to Richard Elmes, a surgeon, and to Jane Richards, the widow of Bommell, a Dutch physician, who was roasted to death in the city of Moscow, in 1579.”*

The attempts of the navigators to push their voyages far to the eastward appear to have closed in disappointment. But by the conquests of the Mahometan principalities of Casan and Astracan, on the Volga, Ivan became master of the Caspian; which opened a new course for English adventure towards regions renowned for their ancient wealth. Anthony Jenkinson employed thirty-six years of his life in journeys and voyages† so extensive and various, that it is difficult to understand how any man in an age when languages and geography were so little known, could have accomplished them. His travels stretched from Algiers to the northern extremity of Russia, and from London, by Moscow, to Persia; and through that country to Bokhara on the Sogd; to say nothing of all the countries of Europe. With the difficulties which remained to be overcome, if he had completed his design by advancing to China or to India, it is unlikely that he should have been fully acquainted. The existence of a traveller so enterprising, so persevering, and necessarily so intelligent, — the extent and judicious selection of his objects and means, — would of themselves be sufficient to show the nature and force of the impulse which was at that period communicated to the English mind.

The same national movement produced the attempts to find a north-west passage to the treasures of the East. A settlement on Newfoundland facilitated these efforts. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the elder brother of sir Walter Raleigh, was the most zealous supporter of schemes for pursuing discovery through the seas which he thought open to the north of America. In 1567 Martin Frobisher, in two barks of twenty-five tons each, discovered the inward sea, called Hudson's Bay. About ten years afterwards he made two successive voyages into the same

* Hakluyt, 499.

† 1546—1572. Hakluyt, 436.

seas, with a more considerable force, but with less accession to geography, and with expectations of a treasure which proved to be imaginary.* Sir Humphrey Gilbert himself, in 1583, undertook the command of a voyage of discovery, but it proved fruitless and disastrous. The largest ship deserted, under pretence of a contagious disease. The ship called the *Admiral* was lost in a storm at sea, which induced him to turn his course to England. In defiance of advice he chose to hoist his flag in a small vessel of ten tons, in which he continued to the last. In the last communication with him, during a tempest in which the sea rolled mountains high, he called out to the commander of a larger vessel in company, — “We are as near heaven at sea as on land.” A little afterwards, in the same evening, it was observed from the *Golden Hind*, that the lights of sir Humphrey’s little bark suddenly went out. “The watch of the *Golden Hind*,” cried the general, “is cast away;” which proved too true: — no further tidings of him or of his bark were ever heard.† In 1585, and in the following year, the course of discovery was resumed by John Davis, in two very small vessels, with forty-one men, who entered the great northern sea, somewhat improperly called from his name *Davis’s Straits*.‡ To pursue these voyages further would be foreign to the present purpose. No reader of this age needs to be informed, that a series of voyages, honourable to British seamen, have nearly demonstrated the northern communication between the western and eastern seas of America; and have also checked human presumption, by showing, with almost equal certainty, that, in the present state of knowledge, that communication cannot be turned into a road for commercial navigation. But the patience under suffering, and the perseverance after disappointment, the hardihood, and skill, and calmness displayed by these early mariners, throw the strongest light on the value of that school in

* Hakluyt, 615—634.

† Idem, 692—695. Harris’s *Voyages*, ii. 402.

‡ Hakluyt, 776. Harris, ii. 403.

which the commanders and seamen of the English navy were then formed.

We must now turn to those more impure channels into which no small portion of the nautical enterprizes of that age flowed. The number of pirates who then swarmed in the British seas may be in some degree estimated from the facility with which Bothwell collected them at Shetland; a station to which they flocked on account of its remoteness from legal authority. The records of the privy council show the same multiplication of sea-robbers more distinctly, from 1570 to 1575; when twenty-two piratical cases were the subject of proceedings in that body. In the next five years the numbers were more than doubled. Their decrease in subsequent years must be ascribed to enlistment in naval expeditions against the American Spaniards, where they continued to exercise their former profession, but with some accession of dignity from the grandeur of the object. The expeditions of John Hawkins, a gentleman of Devonshire, afford a melancholy instance of the fortitude of a seaman dishonoured by application to the purposes of a criminal. His own account of his slaving expeditions on the west coast of Africa will, better than any other words, characterise the deeds of blood which were long, by a prostitution of terms, called by the respectable name of trade. He begins by bewailing (as sportsmen sometimes complain of the scarcity or shyness of game) that he was not able to catch above 150 negroes; whose countrymen had, it seems, the insolence to kill and wound some of his crew. In this difficulty, "a negroe came to us, sent by a negroe king oppressed by other kings his neighbours, desiring our aid, with a promise, that as many negroes as might by these wars be obtained should be at our pleasure. I went myself, and with the assistance of the king of our side assaulted the town by land and sea, and *very hardly with fire* (the huts being covered with dry palm leaves), and out of 8000 souls, seized 250 persons, men, women, and children."*

* Hakluyt, 553.

The sale of these slaves to the inhabitants of Spanish America, who were forbidden to trade with foreigners, was accomplished by fraud or by arms.

The immense extent of coast of the thinly peopled territories of Spain in America, which the whole naval force of the world would have been insufficient to guard, opened facilities for contraband trade, which produced the natural effect on the adventurous and hardy mariners of England. A hatred against Spain was deeply rooted in the nation who had so cruelly suffered under Philip and Mary. The two governments, as we have seen, began gradually to manifest more hostile feelings towards each other. Men of lawless character scarcely thought seriously of the principle of international law, which enjoins the members of a community to offer no violence to the members of another, as long as the two states are at peace: and this sort of refined jurisprudence was deemed more inapplicable to the barbarous regions where Europeans often met. Two centuries after this period, the French and English East India companies continued to carry on war, after their sovereigns had concluded peace. In the time of Elizabeth the example of private war was not forgotten; and the frequency of piracy seems to indicate that hostilities by sea were not regarded as subject to the same strict rules with those on land. The encroachments on the Spanish colonies were made on plausible grounds, and by slow degrees. The Dutch and English ships were first content with trade, and the colonists, whom they supplied cheaply and plentifully with European commodities, received them. They entered a harbour under allegations, generally false, of needing water, provisions, or repairs. They set forth the amity of the two sovereigns as a sufficient reason for expecting hospitality. When by this fair language they had won their way into a haven, if they were stronger than the inhabitants of the town, they generally ended with the most atrocious acts of rapine and murder. The complaints of a Spanish viceroy reached Madrid slowly. The negotiations for

redress in London were perhaps protracted so long by contradictory averments, that the decision might be too late for any purpose, either of compensation to the sufferers *, or of the execution of justice on the wrong-doers.

Francis Drake was perhaps the most distinguished among these freebooters, whom the spirit of maritime adventure sent forth, and who afterwards signally served their country by a more honourable exercise of their knowledge and valour. His first expedition in 1572, in which he attacked Nombre de Dios, displays a most lively picture of an union of watchfulness, activity, caution, and resolution, which, though they were then applied by him to the purposes of robbery, are in themselves qualities by which friends are protected, enemies are quelled, and men in general are ruled. In a hazardous journey across the isthmus of Panama, his Indian guides showed him from the top of a high mountain the South Sea, which no English vessel had ever entered. He secretly resolved on sailing in an English vessel on that sea, and with that mixture of piety, which forms so strong a contrast with his ordinary occupations, falling on his knees and lifting up his hands to heaven, implored the blessing of God upon the enterprise on which he had just determined.† An event occurred in his second voyage so characteristic of the spirit and manners of the age that it seems worthy of being related in the words of an eye-witness. "In this port (St. Julian) our general began to enquire diligently into the actions of Mr. Thomas Doughty, the second in command, and found them not to be such as he looked for,

* The complaints of pillaged merchants of both countries formed the subject of a large part of the correspondence between the two courts. The negotiations of Man, the English ambassador at Madrid, in 1564, remaining in the State Paper Office, chiefly apply to complaints of English merchants of piracy and other grievances. On the other hand, we find Elizabeth obliged, in 1573, by the clamours of Spanish and Portuguese merchants, to issue commissions of enquiry into their complaints. See Rymer, xv. 719. 721.

† "E montibus Mare Australe conspexit: huic homo, gloriæ opumque cupiditate inflammatus, navigandi mare illud tanto flagravat ardore, ut eo loci in genua præcumbens, divinam opem imploraret ad mare illud aliquando navigandum et explorandum, et ad hoc voti religione se obstrinxit."—*Cana. ii.* 362.

but tending rather to contention or mutiny, whereby the success of the voyage might be hazarded. Whereupon the company were called together, and made acquainted with the particulars of the cause, which were found partly by Doughty's confession, and partly by the evidence of the fact, to be true ; which when our general saw, although his private affection for Mr. Doughty (as he then in the presence of us all sacredly protested) was great, yet that the care he had of the state of the voyage, of the expectations of her majesty, and of the honour of his country, did more touch him (as indeed it ought) than the private respect to one man ; so that the cause being thoroughly heard, and all things done in good order as near as might be to the course of our laws in England, it was concluded that Mr. Doughty should receive punishment according to the quality of his offence ; and he seeing no remedy but patience, desired to receive the communion, which he did at the house of Mr. Fletcher, our minister, and our general himself accompanied him in that holy action, which being done, and the place of execution made ready, he having embraced our general, and taken leave of all the company, with prayers for the queen's majesty and her realm, in quiet sort laid his head to the block, where he ended his life." * The expedition of Drake in 1577 has become memorable as the first in which the commander accomplished in his own person the circumnavigation of this planet. For Magalhanes, though he perfected the practical demonstration of the earth's spherical form, having by a western route reached the Moluccas,— the navigation to which by the Cape of Good Hope had become familiar,— yet having been killed in those islands on his return to Europe in 1521, had completed his fame indeed, but without perfectly attaining his object. After an interval of sixty years, in which discovery slumbered, this achievement was performed by Drake, who, in this respect more fortunate than the discoverer, reached in 1580 by the southern promontory of Africa

* Hakluyt, 643, 644.

the port of Plymouth, from which he had sailed three years before by the road round Cape Horn. Drake was directly encouraged in this enterprise by his sovereign, who said to him before he sailed, "We do account that he which striketh at thee, Drake, striketh at us." * After his return Elizabeth dined with him on board his own vessel, on which occasion she conferred on him the honour of knighthood. † The pertinency of many of the particulars which have been now related to the subsequent history of this reign, independently of their immeasurable importance as a part of the history of human civilisation, will appear evident to the reader from the fact that ten years afterwards, when England was exposed to one of the most tremendous dangers which she ever encountered, sir Francis Drake, sir John Hawkins, and sir Martin Frobisher were the efficient commanders of a fleet to which the salvation of their country was intrusted. ‡

CHAP. IV.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

1565—1577.

WE have thus endeavoured to trace the guarded steps by which the queen of England advanced, as well as some of the various means by which she was gradually prepared to venture beyond the boundaries of her wary system, and to take a decisive part in the commotions of Europe. As in the period of her caution, so in that of her energy, her strength consisted in acting at the head of her people. She was a demagogue. In that character her sway began to spread among protestants of every nation. Her sex perhaps partly prevented her pursuit of popularity from lowering her dignity; her com-

* Stowe, 807.

† Ibid. 809.

‡ Camd. ii. 573.

manding genius, and her power of arming herself with sternness, contributed much more to the same effect.

The first movement of the human mind in the sixteenth century which may be called Lutheran, was very distinguishable from the religious convulsions which afterwards ensued. The German reformation was effected by princes in form subordinate, in fact independent. As soon as the revolt of the boors was suppressed, the new religion coalesced with the established government as perfectly as the ancient faith had before done. All changes were introduced by legal authority, and the same power restrained them within their original limits. If some German states had not adopted a Calvinistic system, which gave rise to the distinction between "Evangelicals and Reformed," there would have been no inlet left for toleration among the rigid doctors of the Saxon reform. But after a time, being most reluctantly compelled to make common cause against the church of Rome, they very slowly learned the necessity of extending the boundaries of toleration beyond those of common belief. The principle of the Lutherans was the right of the civil ruler to reform religion, and to maintain it as it was reformed. Laws had established Lutheranism: it had been the object of negotiation, and consequently liable to some compromise. Treaties had secured the religion of each separate state. At the point where we now pause, the face of Germany was calm, and its general quiet was for many years after undisturbed.

The second religious movement, called *Calvinistic*, was of more popular origin, and rose in defiance of the authorities of the world. In France and the Low Countries, its principal seat, it had to struggle with bigoted sovereigns and cruel laws. The reformation was indeed every where connected with civil liberty. But among the Lutherans the connection was long invisible, and the fruits of it very slowly ripened. Among the French and Belgic Calvinists who were obliged to resist the civil as well as the ecclesiastical superiors, the connection of civil and religious liberty was no longer

indirect. It forced itself on the eyes and hearts of all protestants. It had long before been foretold that a revolt against the ancient authority of the church would shake the absolute power of monarchs to its foundation. But it was not till princes became religious persecutors that persecuted subjects enquired into the source and boundaries of political power. The Calvinists resisted their monarch in order to defend themselves. The wars, whether we call them foreign or civil, were fiercer and more bloody, but especially more disorderly, lawless, and irreconcilable than those which had distracted Germany in the reign of Charles V. National attachments were more nearly dissolved. Agreement in religion grew to be the prevalent principle of union; and dissension on that subject became an incentive to hatred over which the ties of country and kindred were often unable to prevail. The protestants of France, Britain, and Belgium forgot their national jealousies amidst the fervour of religious attachment. The inquisitors of Spain embraced the leaguers of France as their brethren by a dearer tie than that of a common country. A civil war between the catholic and protestant factions spread over a considerable portion of Europe. Germany was restrained by the circumstances which have been mentioned. Italy was enslaved by Spain. Elizabeth, after she had suppressed all hostility in Great Britain, brought the whole of the united strength of her people to the aid of the continental protestants.

Her first exertions, conformably to the maxims of her policy at that time, were limited and guarded. Something has already been said of the proscriptive edicts of Henry II. against the protestants, who were termed huguenots in France, from a German word used in Switzerland, which signifies bound to each other by oaths.* The house of Bourbon led the huguenots, the house of Lorraine was at the head of the catholics. In the spring of 1560 the protestants, with other chiefs who were weary of the domination of the princes of

* Eidgenossen — Conjurati.

Lorrain, were detected in a plan of revolt for taking the infant king out of the hands of the Guises, and for expelling that foreign family from the administration of France ; which their opponents punished as a conspiracy to establish Calvinism on the ruins of the catholic religion, and to substitute for monarchy a republican confederacy like that of the Helvetic body. Hence arose the executions, or, as the sufferers with reason called it, the massacre of Amboise ; one of those daring and atrocious measures from which sanguine hopes are entertained by furious partisans, but of which the sequel is generally most crowded with difficulties, and the event often most disastrous.

The revenge of the victors was peculiarly barbarous. A few strokes of the description of it will suffice to characterise the opening of these unhappy wars. Orders were issued to put to death every man taken on the high roads in arms. As few then journeyed without arms, most of the travelling traders were robbed and murdered. Of those who were hurried through some forms of trial, some were hanged by night to the pinnacles of the castle ; others, bound hand and foot, were thrown into the river, which as it passed the town seemed to be swelled by blood. The roads, says the historian, struck the eye with horror by the forest of gibbets through which they appeared to pass. *Villemongey*, a protestant, as he was about to die, dipping his hands in the blood of his friends who perished before him, lifted them up to heaven, and exclaimed, — “ This, O God ! is the innocent blood of thy martyrs for which thou wilt visit their destroyers.”* It is a terrible feature of savage manners, that the ladies of the court carried on their accustomed gaieties amidst these scenes of horror.

Some time afterwards the slaughter of Vassy, one of the accidental meetings of parties resolved on each other's destruction, foreboded more surely the approach of civil war. Guise, on his march at the head of a great armed retinue, had stopped at Vassy, a small town on the

* Thuan. l. 830, &c.

borders of Champagne, where a considerable congregation of the reformers were assembled for the purpose of worship. The insolent and bigoted followers of the prince appear to have taken fire at the Calvinistic worship. An armed scuffle ensued, which terminated in a cruel slaughter of the undisciplined and ill-armed huguenots; and which all French protestants, with an exaggeration inevitable in a moment of such violence, considered as an assault on their worship, and a foretaste of the doom which awaited themselves.

In the summer of 1562 the first civil war burst forth. The protestants were most formidable in the opulent and maritime province of Normandy, where the new opinions had struck a deep root. As a revolt against a regent, though directed against the royal authority, could hardly be aimed at the royal person, it became easy to represent this war, in which both parties called themselves royalists, as a contest between the prince of Condé and the duke of Guise. Hence arose the plausibility of Elizabeth's interference in support of her fellow religionists.* By this treaty, which professed to be for the defence of the faithful subjects of the king of France against the Guisian faction, Havre was surrendered to Elizabeth, who was to garrison it with 3000 men, and to supply 3000 more for the defence of Rouen and Dieppe. The war was short. It was closed, in March, 1563, by a convention at Amboise, which left the huguenot party in a worse condition than that in which they had been under the former edicts.

The English were expelled from Havre in autumn, 1563, by the protestants to whose aid they had come; and a definitive treaty of peace was concluded, at Troyes, in April, 1569, between Elizabeth and Charles IX.†, in which the negotiators on the part of England, sir Thomas Smith and sir Nicholas Throgmorton, de-

* *Traité entre Eliz. Reine d'Angleterre, le Prince de Condé, et la Ligue des Réformés, Septembre 20. 1562. Hampton Court. Dum. Corps Diplom. v. 1—94.*

† Dumont, v. 1. 126.

serve a higher rank than history has allotted to them among the statesmen of that extraordinary age.

The most memorable event which occurred during these hostilities was the assassination of the duc de Guise ; a hero and a renowned captain ; who seems to have been sincere in his religion, and whose sense of public duty was not entirely swallowed up by faction and ambition. The maxims of tyrannicide began to steal into the minds of both parties. Poltrot, a protestant, put Guise to death, at the siege of Orleans ; probably actuated more by a fanatical hatred of the oppressor of his faith, than yielding to the supposed suggestions of the admiral Coligny, as catholic writers are prone to believe. In a case where escape was nearly impossible, it is not easy to conceive how such a deed could be proposed ; and if there were any human virtues which could resist the violent passions of civil dissensions, the accounts of Coligny, transmitted to us by those who were not his friends, might authorise us to conclude that he could not be the man. " He was," says Brantôme, " prudent, deliberate, addicted to mature counsels, brave, weighing every circumstance, and loving honour and virtue above all things besides."*

The atrocity of the warfare sprung partly from the object of the contending parties, which were so irreconcilable as long as toleration was unknown, that neither could aim at any thing short of the destruction of the other ; partly from the circumstance that legal authority was altogether on the side of one faction ; in some degree, perhaps, from the proneness of the French nation to enter into the feelings and to catch the passions of their fellows, to which, as they owe many amiable and shining qualities, their urbanity and pleasantry, their quickness and vivacity, their flexibility and good humour, their companionable ease and brilliant enterprise ; so, it must be owned, that they also owe a

* Œuvres de Brant. viii. 168. The language of Brantôme himself conveys most strongly the estimation in which Coligny was held :—" Un seigneur d'honneur, homme de bien, sage, mûr, avisé, politique, brave, pesant les choses, et aimant l'honneur et la vertu."

more than usual susceptibility of those epidemic passions which often hurry on multitudes to counsels and deeds abhorrent from the ordinary tenor of the temper and conduct of the individuals who compose them. The most powerful agent of all was the peculiar malignity of wars of religion, in which one party must ever regard with the greatest disgust and detestation all that is most dear and venerable in the eyes of their opponents. The protestants regarded as idolatrous the honour paid by their forefathers to the remains and the likenesses of men accounted eminent for piety and virtue. They destroyed these monuments of supposed idolatry with unsparing rage. They profaned them in other modes more insulting and offensive than destruction itself. Nothing could be more natural than the fierce resentment kindled in the breasts of pious catholics by such outrages offered to the objects of their most affectionate veneration. In this and in other cases, shocking indignities and cruel retaliations were most practised by those members of both communions who were most influenced by the religious feelings, which are naturally allied to every kind affection and to every moral principle. The army of the reformed was so powerfully controlled by religion as to exhibit a perfect model of voluntary discipline, of austere morality, and of abstinence from the ordinary vices of soldiers. But the same spirit of religion, inflamed to an intensity necessary, perhaps, to sustain them through wars of extermination, was so distorted by this application, that, instead of inspiring that love of enemies which was its original glory, it refused to include them within the bounds of natural pity, and cast them off as unworthy of the universal offices of humanity. The atrocities perpetrated by the *mareschal de Monluc**, — coolly, or rather gaily, related by himself, — sufficiently characterise the war on the side of the catholics; whose bigotry was lashed into activity by laws which authorised them, “at the first sound of the alarm-bell, to fall

* *Mémoires de Monluc.*

on the huguenots, and destroy them with as little mercy as if they were beasts of prey, or mad dogs." * Des Adrets *, a protestant, rivalled the cruelties of his opponents ; directing, among other enormities, a garrison, who had surrendered on terms, to be thrown from the summit of high towers, where they were frequently received on the pikes of his soldiers ; on pretence that the like perfidious cruelty had been practised by his opponents on the protestant garrison of Orange : a principle of revenge which would perpetuate every horrible expedient once used in war.† He afterwards became a catholic, but the sense of his desertion subdued his military abilities, though it did not soften his fierceness.

It was not till there was some approach to a general conviction that toleration, if not justifiable on principles of religion, was become at least politically necessary, that a peace between the two factions was possible. But the truce of 1563 continued disturbed by terrific rumours of the designs of the catholic monarchs.

The second civil war lasted during the years 1567 and 1568, and the truce which followed was observed only for six months. In the third civil war the protestant princes of Germany took a share. It is chiefly memorable as that in which Henry, prince of Bearn, signalled his youthful prowess. The prince of Condé was defeated at the head of the huguenot forces, and afterwards put to death in cold blood on the field of battle. Though the huguenots were defeated at the battle of Moncontera, they obtained favourable terms by a treaty concluded in 1570 at St. Germain's.

At this point it seems convenient to review the projects discussed at Bayonne, which we have considered only collaterally, as they affect the occurrences in the interior of Britain, and to examine the progress towards their execution in the important points of either exterminating the Calvinists of France and Flanders, or at least placing them at the mercy of their inveterate and irreconcilable oppressors. At this new point of

* Bayle, art. Beaumont des Adrets.

† Bayle, ubi supra.

view, it may be proper here to recapitulate some parts of what for other purposes has been scattered over various passages of the preceding narrative.

At the opening of the Lutheran reformation, Francis I., though he patronised the rising arts and the revived learning of his age, declared the religious novelties "to tend to the overthrow of all monarchy, human as well as divine." * Sir T. More himself attributed the excesses of the peasants to the pestilential doctrines of Luther. † Adrian VI., a reformer of gross abuses, was earnestly dissuaded by cardinal Soderini from suffering the fundamental principles of the papal monarchy to be brought into question in a general council. "Governments," said the cardinal, "perish when they change. The only security is to follow the examples of those holy pontiffs, who, not making vain attempts to satisfy heretics by reforms, extinguished the Albigeois and the Vaudois by proclaiming crusades against them, by exciting princes and nations to take arms for their extermination, and by drowning all memory of their blasphemous dogmas in torrents of blood." ‡ The pope instructed his nuncio in Germany, whom he empowered to grant moderate reforms, at the same time to remind the German princes that disobedience to the laws of the church would bring those of the state into utter contempt; that those who had laid their hands on the property of churchmen would feel still less repugnance to the seizure of lay estates; and, finally, that the professions of the Lutherans, that they respected secular powers, were only lures to ensnare civil authorities to destruction. §

Impregnated as the Italian statesmen were with these principles, it is extremely probable that they were discussed, though perhaps secretly, at the first convention of the council of Trent. || Cardinal Pole promoted peace between France and Spain, avowedly that they

* Brantôme, *Vie de Francis I.* vii. 257.

† Life of Sir T. More, in *Lives of British Statesmen*, vol. i. Ch. Cyc.

‡ Fra Paolo, *Istoria de Conc. Trident.* lib. i. A. D. 1522.

§ Ibid.

|| December, 1545.

might combine their counsels and their power to restore the union of the church. In 1559, Perrenot, bishop of Arras, whose historical name is cardinal Granvelle, persuaded Charles, cardinal of Lorraine, at secret interviews between them, that it was the duty and interest of all catholic princes to suspend their worldly differences in order to unite for the sacred purpose of healing the breach in Christian union which had been caused by the German heresy.* “The chief motive of the peace of Câteau-Cambresis,” says a well-informed contemporary, “was that the seeds of the Saxon heresy were springing up throughout France.”† It was the opinion of the two cardinals, that, “without a peace between the crowns of France and Spain, the catholic religion could not long continue either in France or Flanders;—so great was the increase of protestants, who could only be suppressed by establishing an inquisition in both countries.”‡ Immediately after the conclusion of the treaty the secret project to exterminate protestants was betrayed to William I., prince of Orange, by Henry II., who mistakenly supposed that the prince was a papal bigot, enjoying the same favour under Philip II., as he possessed under Charles V. Symptoms of the concert for the suppression of the impious and seditious opinions of the age broke out in various parts of Europe. Paul IV. (Caraffa) issued his tremendous bull for the excommunication and deposition of all princes tainted with heresy, manifestly and principally aimed at the head of Elizabeth, whom he had not yet the audacity to proscribe by name. On the 10th of May, 1563, the cardinal of Lorraine read a letter to the council of Trent from his niece, the queen of Scots, “submitting herself to the council, and promising that when she succeeded to the crown of England she would subject both her kingdoms to the obedience due to the apostolic see.” The cardinal excused his royal niece for not having sent prelates to the council by the cruel necessity of

* Thuan. lib. xx. c. 9.

† Adriani, *Istor. di suoi Tempi*, lib. xi. Firenze, 1583.

‡ Sir F. Walsingham to Burleigh. Paris, Aug. 12. 1571. Digges, 123.

keeping terms with her heretical counsellors.* The council returned solemn thanks to the queen for a letter which, thus read in the representative assembly of Christendom, they doubtless regarded as the first-fruits of a pious concert of catholic princes against rebellious heretics. After such a letter to so numerous a body of important men of every nation, it was impossible that the general existence of an understanding between catholic princes on this subject should not be universally believed.

Pius IV., weary of the slow steps by which the holy allies † advanced to the verge of an exterminating war, earnestly urged a personal interview between Catherine de Medicis and Philip II. Philip evaded the journey, alleging his infirm health, which, with the habits of inaction and seclusion, in which he resembled his model, Tiberius, and with the convenience of gaining time, by his distance, for the consideration of every suggestion, was probably among his real motives. Catherine was attended by her son, Charles IX., with a splendid retinue of French, whose gaiety and brilliancy presented a striking contrast with the Castilian grandees who formed the train of the queen of Spain and the duke of Alva, over the gravity of whose national manners the temper of Philip had spread a deeper shade of melancholy dignity. The pretext for this assembly was that of an interview of the young queen of Spain with her mother the queen-dowager of France. Had this been the sole or the main object, it seemed singular that the conductor of the young queen should have been Alva, a cold, stern, unbending veteran of sixty, justly renowned for military genius, who had been employed from his earliest youth against the German innovators, the slaughter, and extirpation of whom he regarded as his most sacred duty to God or man. Military sports and courtly amusements occupied during the earlier part of the day the knights of both nations. Festivity, jollity,

* Fra Paolo, *Istoria Conc. Trident.* lib. vii. Opere, ii. 301.

† "Sacrum fœdus." — *Thuanus*.

and gallantry were blended with the dance and the song. Even the liberal pleasures of literature sometimes diversified the orgies of the licentious nobles who attended the two most dissolute and refined of the great courts of Europe. At the dead hour of midnight, when they, exhausted by the tournament, the table, and the dance, retired to repose, the queen-mother held secret conferences with Alva in the apartments of her probably unconscious daughter Elizabeth. The British minister at Madrid announced these conferences to his court with evident alarm. "A post from Bayonne brings news of the meeting of the two queens. There are surely matters in hand of importance, for there are the president of Flanders, the council, and the secretary." * The minister's inference from the presence of these grave personages was reasonable.

These conferences undoubtedly related to the most effectual means of subduing the protestants in France and Flanders. Mutual succour was stipulated; and, in pursuance of the stipulation, actually afforded. It would be altogether incredible that, if they had been successful to this point, they could there have checked their course. The queen-mother and the duke of Alva were agreed in the necessity of the designs, both pious and political, for destroying the heretics. Alva declared for immediate extermination. He blamed the faint-hearted propositions of France, which he treated as treason to the cause of God. All the huguenot leaders must, he said, be taken off. To this he added, that there must also be a massacre of the whole pestilential sect, as general as that massacre of the French in Italy, known by the name of "The Sicilian Vespers." Catherine ventured to represent that measures so extreme were unsuitable to the reduced state of the royal power in France. She preferred the wiles of an Italian woman, and expressed a wish that while she was busied in alluring the princes and lords into the ancient church, she should, at the same time, make preparations for chastising by arms the

* Phaer to Cecil, June 22. 1665. MSS. State Paper Office.

contumacy of the heretical populace. She had, shortly before, answered in the same manner proposals like those of Alva, which had been made to her at Avignon by the pope's legate. The queen and the duke, however, agreeing in their object, and differing only about the option of fraud or force as the best immediate means, it was not difficult to effect a compromise. It was finally determined to adopt the general principle of destroying the incorrigible ringleaders of the heretical factions. Each sovereign was to select the opportunities and modes of execution which should best suit the circumstances of his own dominions. In France, where the parties were mingled, and in some degree balanced, the considerations of time and expediency were evidently more complicated. In suppressing the Belgic disorders, where a catholic army was to be sent from Spain and Italy against a heretical nation, the same perplexities did not exist, and immediate execution appeared more practicable. There is some reason to believe that the outlines of this project, though couched in the smooth and soft language of courts, were reduced to writing, and subscribed by the sovereigns. In this point the despatch of Phaer concurs with the account already given of the queen of Scots having sent back a messenger to Paris, in the spring of 1566, with the "*bond*" of the catholic monarchs to root out heresy, the date of which was only a few months after the conferences at Bayonne. It is not likely, however it might be expressed, that it should have been understood by the parties as containing obligations less extensive than those which Mary had voluntarily imposed on herself by her letter to the council of Trent.*

The war of Spain against the Netherlands, one of the most memorable conflicts of modern times, which so soon followed the conference of Bayonne, had its source

* The greater part of the summary rests on the testimony of Adriani (Ist. di suoi Tempi, Firenze, 1584), who wrote from materials furnished by Cosmo first duke of Tuscany, — a prince whose safety much depended on his information of the designs of the great courts. His narrative is adopted by De Thou. The declaration of the eloquent jesuit, Strada, who wrote at Rome from the papers of the house of Parma, that he will neither affirm nor deny these imputed designs, must be regarded as a confirmation of Thuanus and Adriani.

in more general and more remote causes. The provinces of Lower Germany, which are watered by the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt, had been united under Charles V.; whose power was, however, circumscribed by constitutional boundaries, and balanced by the extensive authority of the provincial states, composed of the clergy, the nobility, and the representatives of the people chosen by the towns. The great and opulent cities of the southern provinces had been the ancient seats of popular liberty, and of those commotions which often expose it to destruction. Of them alone, Antwerp, by its commercial enterprise, kept alive some sparks of the sacred fire of the northern and maritime provinces, where the people,—a daring and robust race of mariners, inured to hardship, to suffering, to dreadful danger, and to daring enterprise,—from behind their dikes and canals smiled on the fruitless advances of invaders. That the mouths as well as the sources of the Rhine became the sole asylum of Germanic liberty on the continent of Europe, will appear unaccountable to those who have not reflected that causes almost the same may bestow on the dwellers amidst mountains, and along shores, the exalted spirit which belongs to the consciousness of secure independence.* The three provinces of Holland, Friesland, and Zealand were the most deeply imbued with the Lutheran doctrine of no implicit submission to human power, which flowed on them from northern Germany; and they might also have caught additional boldness and jealousy from the example and opinions of England, with which they maintained an almost daily intercourse. The earliest of modern sufferers for religion were the Protestants of these Burgundian provinces. Charles V. began to proscribe that body of his subjects in the summer of 1521, after he had holden an imperial

* "Two voices are there; one is of the sea,
One of the mountains; each a mighty voice:
In both from age to age thou didst rejoice,
They were thy chosen music — Liberty!"

Wordsworth's Sonnet on the Subjugation of Switzerland, vol. ii. 210.

diet at Worms on the subject of suppressing the new heresy. He issued an edict not only for the government of the empire, but for that of his hereditary dominions, particularly including the Netherlands; in which, after reciting the condemnation of Lutheran heresies by the church, he denounced the punishment of death against all who deviated from the doctrines of the apostolic see, or who possessed Lutheran books, or harboured the heretics themselves. All men were commanded to discover those who were suspected of heresy. Solicitation for fugitives was prohibited; not excepting fathers, sons, or brothers. Even by recantation of heresy, no farther grace could be earned than that the men were beheaded, and the women buried alive*, while the contumacious expiated their obstinacy in the flames. These tremendous denunciations were speedily carried into effect. Blood began to be spilt in 1523. "From that time," says father Paul, "to the peace of Câteau-Cambresis in 1558, there were fifty thousand Protestants hanged, beheaded, buried alive, or burnt in the Netherlands."† Grotius, in writing of a later period, estimates the number at a hundred thousand. ‡

Slaughter like this was of itself sufficient to render any people irreconcilable whose spirit it had not extinguished. Such was the strength of the reforming spirit in the Low Countries, that every execution multiplied heretics. The mighty agency of religion was aided by many minor grievances. Spanish troops were kept up in peace, in contradiction to the Belgic laws. A new ecclesiastical hierarchy of three archbishops and twelve bishops § was established, with an abolition of the juris-

* Van Meteren, Hist. des Pays Bas, liv. i. anno 1521. Wagen, Vaderland Hist. iv. "Qui de literis divinis dissertassent, privates cœtibus sacrorum causa interfuissent, in viros gladius, in feminas sub terram defossio statuitur, ita tamen si prius culpam agnoscerent; nam in pervicaces flammis vindicabatur." — Grot. Ann. lib. i.

† Fra Paolo, lib. v. Opp. ii. p. 33.

‡ Grot. Ann. lib. i. The reference of the two great writers to different periods affords the most reasonable explanation of the apparent contradiction. Grotius had the best means of information, and the smaller number is as good a proof of cruelty as the larger.

§ Archbishoprics of Cambray, Mechlin, and Utrecht; bishoprics of Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres, in Flanders; of St. Omer in Artois; of Antwerp and Bois le Duc in Brabant; of Ruremonde in Guelderland; of Namur, in the

diction of the foreign prelates in the neighbourhood, in whose dioceses or provinces the greater part of the Belgic territory had formerly been included ; with the purpose, as the Netherlanders believed, of substituting an oppressive and persecuting prelacy in the room of those who were enfeebled and restrained by distance and national difference. These new prelates were also naturally dreaded, as likely to convert the provincial states into mere instruments of the government. The abbots, whose vast domains and princely dignity had maintained the independence of the clergy, were loud in their complaints against these new slaves of the crown and oppressors of the people, whose recently created sees were enriched by the spoils of the ancient and magnificent monasteries. The contrast of Charles V., a native Fleming, with the Spanish manners and temper of Philip, was very unfavourable to the latter, who was suspected of seriously entertaining the monstrous project, which, if his father ever harboured, he had been obliged by experience to renounce,—that of reducing his various dominions, and the still more various nations who dwelt in them, to one uniform model of Spanish rule and belief. The mind of Charles V. was adapted to a variety of institutions and manners, by the diversity of races over whom he had long ruled. Philip II., whose Spanish education had fortified his natural qualities, early betrayed an impatience which sometimes broke through his dissimulation, of the constitutional resistance to his power from the Flemings, who were among the most anciently free of European nations. He embarked at Flushing, for Spain, on the 26th of August, 1559, prophesying, as the event showed truly, that he should never again see the Low Countries ; a prediction probably inspired by hatred to a free people. At the moment of his sailing, he is said to have betrayed his secret thoughts in an angry conversation with the prince

province so called ; of Haarlem in Holland ; of Middleburg in Zealand ; of Leuwerden in Friesland ; of Deventer and Groningen in the small provinces of Overijssel and Groningen.

of Orange, whom he reproached as the prompter of the addresses for the removal of the Spanish troops with which the states of the Flemish provinces had lately importuned him. The prince answered humbly, that these addresses flowed from the spontaneous feelings of the states. Philip, in a transport of rage, replied, "Not the states, *but thou, thou, thou!*"*

Notwithstanding the warnings of his most faithful and experienced counsellors, Philip, in 1565, resolved on introducing into the Netherlands the most grievous part of the Spanish system,—the holy inquisition,—of which he believed that he had sufficiently proved the efficacy, for the extirpation of heretics, by his successful employment of it in Spain. The council of the Netherlands entreated that the king would suspend the execution of his orders to this effect, on the ground that the establishment of this new tribunal would be destructive of the jurisdiction of the ancient courts, and an infraction of the fundamental laws. These remonstrances were in vain; but the manifest designs of Philip excited the same alarm, and roused the people to the same resistance, which fears from the projects of the holy league had produced in France. The nobility confederated in 1566 against the inquisition. They petitioned Margaret of Parma, the governess of the Netherlands, to obtain security against this tremendous tribunal. A great crowd, who attended count Louis of Nassau, in the presentation of the petition to the governess at Brussels, were sneered at by the courtiers as *Beggars*†, on account of the torn apparel of some of their numbers. The courtiers lived to regret their insolence, and their sarcastic name was adopted as a title

* Mémoires de la Hollande, par Aubrey Dumaunier, 9 Paris, 1668. Vander Wynkt, Troubles des Pays Bas, i. 102. I find no mention of this conversation in Van Meteren, Wagenaar, or Grotius. It has not, however, the appearance of forgery. The English language has no corresponding pronoun of contempt for the Spanish "*vos*." I have been obliged to render it in the French idiom, which is known to most readers. In that language, *tu toyer*, "*to thee and thou*," is a term of disparagement. Every one knows that "*you*" is employed as a second person singular; and that "*thou*," when it is not a poetical term, is sometimes employed by playful fondness, but generally denotes a deeper veneration than can be reasonably felt towards imperfect beings.

† *Gueux*.

of honour by the enemies of the inquisition. The confederated nobles fortified themselves in monasteries deserted by the monks. The protestant populace, more unresisted and more indiscriminately than in France, assailed and destroyed the churches on account of the images deemed idolatrous, which in their eyes profaned these sacred edifices. A general confusion appeared to threaten these provinces, while the most formidable of enemies was about to enter the country with forces sufficient to exterminate heretics, and to reduce the mutinous Belgians to irretrievable servitude.

The duke de Feria, who had been ambassador in England, was proposed by the moderate party for the command in Flanders. The choice of a commander in Flanders was considered so decisive of the policy likely to be adopted, that the prince of Eboli, the most popular of royal favourites*, ventured to represent to Philip the peril which might attend the appointment of Alva. The inflexible Philip, according to his custom, made no answer. Alva's conversation on the heretical provinces was always harsh, and often savoured of blood. The poignancy of his language, and his use of national proverbs, caused his cruel phrases to be generally circulated, easily remembered, and never forgiven. The sentence in which he expressed, at Bayonne, his preference of the murder of chiefs to the massacre of multitudes, that "one salmon's head was worth a thousand frogs," is mentioned by nearly all contemporaries. He was rumoured in Flanders to have spoken of his expedition as if it were like one of those invasions to exterminate the natives of America, which had dishonoured the Spanish name. As soon as these circumstances were noised abroad, industry and wealth began to seek an asylum in other lands. An emigration began of protestant manufacturers and capitalists, chiefly to England; which Alva's subsequent measures increased to such an extent, that the ancient opulence and commerce of the Flemish towns disappeared. When the

* Herrera calls him *specio de privados*—the mirror of favourites.

employers abandoned their country, the unemployed workmen resorted to the camp of the insurgents, where they took revenge on those whose tyranny had caused their ruin.* The troops of Alva were accounted the best disciplined, and his officers the most skilful, that the modern world had seen. The sixty years which had passed over his head had enriched his experience without abating his enterprise, and still more without weakening his determination. The resistance of the ploughmen of Brabant, the woollen manufacturers of Flanders, and the herring-fishers of Holland to so great a captain, at the head of a veteran army, seemed rather an object of derision, than of the slightest apprehension.

The appointment of a commissary-general, and the choice of Serbelloni, a distinguished officer, to command the ordnance in this army, indicated remarkable progress in the art of war. The quality and size of their muskets, which were such as had never been seen in the Netherlands, at once manifested their superior science, and aided their physical power. The old officers of Charles V., who had served and conquered in every country from Tunis to the Elbe, were Alva's lieutenants. He confined himself to 9000 chosen men of the renowned Spanish infantry, and to a select body of 1200 cavalry, because they were better fitted for so long a march than a larger mass, and because they were a stock on which recruits might be safely and easily engrafted in the Burgundian provinces. This army began its march from Asti in the beginning of July, 1567; and, having crossed Mont Cenis, marched through Savoy, the free country of Burgundy, and Lorraine, to the frontiers of the provinces of Luxemburg and Namur, which it reached in the end of August, after having been reinforced on its march, at Thionville, by Austrian auxiliaries under count Mansfield. The advance of military science was manifested by Alva's rigorous enforcement of discipline before he reached the devoted territory. In their whole march through neutral domi-

* Vander Wynkt, i. 244—250.

nions, it was their boast that no outrage was committed but the stealing of a few sheep, for which Alva ordered three of his artillerymen to be instantly hanged. That many of the officers and soldiers on whom he most relied were Italians, is a remarkable proof of the proneness of military arts and habits to migrate from nation to nation.*

Brantôme, who went to visit his old friends in that army on the frontiers of Lorraine, tells us that the bystanders looked upon them rather as an army of generals than of soldiers †; and at the same time mentions a circumstance, in appearance almost equally incompatible with the piety of their professions, and with the ferocity of their true purpose. "Among them," says he, "were 400 courtesans on horseback, like princesses in beauty and bravery, while 800 more, not to be contemned, marched on foot." ‡

One of the earliest acts of Alva's government was to detach a body of troops into France to quell the huguenots, whom the alarm of his expedition had roused to arms. For a time he used the popular name of the duchess of Parma, whom he was to succeed, for the purpose of quietly occupying the fortified places, as well as to draw into his snares counts Egmont and Horn, two of the chiefs of the Netherlands, whom, with many others of the nobility, he had invited to Brussels, under pretence of a consultation on public affairs. They were imprisoned. Egmont being required to give up his sword, answered, "It has often been drawn for the king." Cardinal Granvelle, who had retired to Rome when he heard of the capture, asked whether "the Taciturn" was taken? On being answered "No;" he replied, "Alva has done nothing." Such were already the terrors of the name of the prince of Orange, who was commonly called "the Taciturn." Egmont, a descendant from § the ancient counts of Holland, and

* Strada de Bello Belgico, lib. vi. sub initio. ,

† Brantôme, ix. 76.

‡ Ibid.

§ The peculiar importance of Strada terminates with the departure of the duchess of Parma, to whose papers he had access. From that time he owns that he writes from sources accessible to common industry.

Horn, the representative of the elder branch of the house of Montmorency, were considered among the Belgic patricians as second only to the prince of Orange. Both had bled and conquered for the house of Austria. In hopes of preserving peace by obtaining the redress of grievances, they had both trusted themselves to the faith and mercy of Philip, by a journey to Spain, whence they were suffered to depart; though Horn's brother, the baron de Montigny, a deputy with the same pacific object, was secretly put to death at Segovia, with or without the vain formality of a pretended trial.*

Alva, after the departure of the duchess of Parma, erected "a council of troubles," which the people called "the Council of Blood." He appointed himself to be president; but John de Vargas, the vice-president, was the chief labourer in the scenes of blood which ensued. He was an ignorant, pitiless, and brutal Spaniard, whose cruelty seems to have been the longer remembered in the Netherlands for the jumble of bad Latin with Spanish, in which it was expressed.† The privy-counsellors of the Netherlands, under various pretences, escaped from the necessity of becoming members of a detestable tribunal; and Viglius, the president, a Frisian lawyer of celebrity, took refuge from all share in the proceedings, which he foresaw, by becoming an ecclesiastic, which rendered it unlawful for him to vote in capital cases. The proscriptions of this murderous council are by catholic historians compared to those of the Roman triumvirates.‡ Egmont and Horn, who vainly objected to the jurisdiction, were beheaded at Brussels in June, 1568. The rank and the popularity of both these noblemen so much interested all classes of men, that their death exasperated instead of intimidating the oppressed people. The emperor Maximilian had almost openly expostulated against the savage policy adopted by Alva. It was

* Vander Wynkt, *Troubles des Pays Bas*, i. 264. A catholic historian, attached to the house of Austria, who wrote from the archives at Brussels. Van Meteren, Grotius, &c. &c.

† "Non curamus vestros privilegios," is a sample.

‡ Vander Wynkt, i. 265. 276.

not wonderful that this signal spectacle of atrocity should have kindled a general revolt. Alva had the meanness to seize and send prisoner to Spain the count de Buren, the eldest son of the prince of Orange, then a boy of fifteen *, who pursued his studies in the university of Louvain.

Orange collected a considerable army in Germany of foreign protestants and exiled Flemings, of which one division, under his brother count Louis, after some successes in Friesland, was finally defeated. The main body, commanded by the prince of Orange himself, penetrated to the Meuse. Conscious that his pecuniary resources were too scanty to keep his troops long together, his object was to force Alva to action. Alva, who knew that the prince's army would melt away as soon as his supplies were exhausted, was content to stand on a somewhat mortifying defence against raw revolvers, well knowing that winter would in no long time rid him of their presence. A campaign of positions and surprises, with incessant watchfulness on both sides, then ensued; a species of war where military ability is often best shown: and though in this case Alva, by the discipline of his troops and the superiority of his material means of war, accomplished his purpose, yet the prince of Orange proved himself to be no unworthy opponent of the most renowned commander in Europe.

It was not till 1572 that Orange made another irruption into the Netherlands, attended by a success which never afterwards entirely deserted the cause of liberty in these provinces. The beggars, or *'gueux*, besides the large party of malecontents whom the arrogance of the court of Brussels called by that name, comprehended two regular bodies, — the bush beggars and the sea beggars, — whose origin may be easily seen in these contemptuous appellatives. The illustrious admiral Coligny had suggested to the prince, at Paris, that, as Spain had no marine in the Netherlands, the

* Van Meteren, 50.

seizure of a sea-port would be the most effectual means of lasting war against them. The prince, well knowing that the sea beggars had lately been recruited by numerous and opulent refugees from the scaffolds of Alva, had begun to capture Spanish ships along the coast, carrying their prizes either to the protestant city of Rochelle, or, more covertly, to the ports of England. He despatched William count de la Marck, — a man of no valuable quality, but of a fierce valour, which the occasion demanded, — to prepare a small armament in the English harbours. The Spanish ambassador complained that the connivance at the mooring of the piratical rebels in the Downs and at Dover was a breach of neutrality, and an offence against the treaties between the two crowns. When these complaints were so often repeated that Elizabeth could no longer shut her eyes on the facts, — but not, as it should seem, till the little squadron was ready for sailing, — she issued a proclamation, in March, 1572, commanding the exiles, on a day therein fixed, to quit her harbours; on condition that the king of Spain should, in like manner, banish the English rebels from his dominions.* They, in consequence, set sail for the islands which form the province of Zealand, in twenty-four small vessels; the germ of a navy which became one of the most powerful that the modern world had seen. On the evening of Palm Sunday, the 1st of April, 1572, a party of them, with the appearance of men who had escaped from a shipwreck, were suffered to steal into the small town of Brille; and, being seconded by some of the inhabitants, disarmed the Spanish garrison, and made themselves masters of the place. This gallant adventure of a party of the despised beggars laid the foundations of a wise and renowned commonwealth.

Zealand and Holland declared for the prince of

* *Camd. Ann.* 1572, ii. 264. *Van Meteren, Hist. des Pays Bas*, 71. On the 21st of February, Elizabeth, in terms of extraordinary indulgence towards the exiles, commanded the mayor of Dover to warn the count de la Marck of the necessity of ceasing to disturb her dominions, by recruiting his troops and arming his vessels within the English territory. *Murden*, 210.

Orange, who gave some regularity to his administration by conducting the government in his character of stadtholder or lieutenant of Holland ; an office conferred by the king, but under colour of which the prince continued for many years to wage war against Spanish armies by his majesty's authority. All the affairs of the law and the state were transacted, according to usual form, in the king's name. Arms were professedly employed only against foreign soldiers, whose presence in the Netherlands was in open defiance of the fundamental laws, and all the public documents contained an express saving of the supreme and sacred prerogatives of his majesty. Elizabeth beheld this great revolution with satisfaction, and considered herself as having sufficiently performed the duties of neutrality by compliance with the requisition made by the Spanish minister. She imposed no farther restraints on the inclination of her people ; a small part of whom (probably catholics) joined the duke of Alva, while great numbers, yielding to the hereditary feeling of their name and lineage, espoused the cause of liberty.*

The massacre of the huguenots in France, to which it will soon be necessary to recur, changed the fortune of the war in the Netherlands during the latter part of the year 1572. The successes of the Spanish arms were dishonoured by cruelties before unheard of ; and excited a resistance, perhaps not to be matched in modern history. Frederic, the duke of Alva's son, began his career of blood by the massacre of old men, women, and children at Naarden. The first of those memorable defences which immortalise Holland was that of Haarlem ; where the siege commenced in December, 1572, and was closed on the 12th of July, after a promise of general mercy, which did not prevent Toledo from beheading, hanging, or drowning more

* "Viri militares ex Angliâ in Belgium confuere cœperunt, alii partium studiis ad Albanum, alii et longe plures ad principem Arausionensem, qui religionis et libertatis nomine Albano se opposuit."—*Camd.* ii. 264.

"Affluentibus quotidie auxiliis e Galliæ et Britanniæ rognis."—*Grot. Ann.* lib. ii.

than 1600 of the garrison, foreigners and natives, and 2000 of the townsmen. The Spaniards evinced their sense of the merit of the defence by bestowing on the regiments who took the most active part in reducing an almost open town, in the course of seven months, the titles of the Invincibles and of the Immortals. The royal army were compelled to raise the siege of Alkmaer. The garrison and inhabitants endured miseries, during their long defence, which would be incredible if they were not better attested than most facts in history. They were reduced to preserve the lingering wretchedness of their lives by scanty portions of unclean and loathsome rats, cats, and dogs. Fish skins were collected from the dunghills; cow-skins, cut into small pieces, were among the dishes on which they tried to subsist. They laboured to extract nourishment from the dried bones of cattle which for years had been whitening over the fields. Pestilence, as usual, followed in the train of famine. The people bore all with heroic patience, and consented to open the sluices, so as to deluge the whole environs; declaring loudly, that an injured country was better than an enslaved country. At last a high wind arose, which was regarded as the messenger of Providence sent to deliver the brave and faithful city. By this breeze the waters were so raised as to enable the Dutch squadron to come so near that they threw in supplies for the garrison, and the besiegers were obliged to retire.

Amsterdam, afterwards celebrated by zeal for civil and religious liberty, was bridled by a Spanish garrison, placed in it on account of its importance. Grotius strengthens his credit in the narrative of Alva's atrocities by owning that de la Marck, though an useful ruffian, had brought infamy on infant liberty by cruelty to the catholic priests.* The duke of Alva was recalled from his deplorable administration of the Netherlands, where he boasted that in six years he had put to death 18,000 persons by the hands of the hangman. Vargas,

* Grot. Ann. lib. ii. p. 40. edit. 8vo. Amstelodami, 1658.

his sanguinary instrument, when he arrived with his master at the frontier, looking back on the provinces which had endured his rod for nine years, exclaimed, "There is a country lost by indulgence!" A degree of cruelty is conceivable which might altogether extinguish the spirit and resolution which resistance requires: but this extent of destruction, though it may doubtless be conceived, can hardly ever be practised. Tyrants are ignorant of the laws which limit their destructive power. Strangers to pity themselves, they know not its power over other men. Unbelievers in the force of moral indignation, it bursts upon them when they are least prepared. They know not that every new crime dissolves some link of that mutual trust between them and their accomplices or followers, without which assassins and robbers cannot act together. Men who must more and more distrust and abhor each other, and who are doomed to end in hating themselves, cannot always preserve the union and concert without which their malignity becomes powerless. The infirmities of human nature undermine the conspiracies of the wicked, perhaps, even more than they loosen the union of the good. No man was ever so consistently depraved as never to be visited by misgivings in a course of guilt which, save only the fellows of his crimes, renders all mankind his enemies, for whose constancy and fidelity he has no other security than a common criminality, which, brittle as it is, has no force but against the virtuous; for, in their relations to each other, every villain must live in continual dread of fraud, treachery, and destruction from his brethren in blood. The greater part of them, unripe in atrocity, must be often unmanned by cowardice, and appalled by fearful anticipations that they are doomed one day to regard their own dispositions with some degree of that abhorrence of which they must sometimes read in the eyes of their fellow-creatures. They at last fall unpitied victims to the eternal law which dooms the vices to perpetual records, arms the virtues with that power which flows

from unbroken harmony, and has decreed that peace and faith are blessings too sacred to be allotted to any except the good.

When Alva was thus compelled to relinquish his prey, he was succeeded by don Juan de Requesens, grand commander of Castile and viceroy of Lombardy ; a man of moderate and pacific character, who, if sent sooner, might have reconciled the parties. But it is the remark of contemporaries, that this step of Spain towards concession became fruitless, and perhaps mischievous, by being delayed beyond the propitious moment, which flies before an obstinate government sees it. The impolicy of delay was now rendered apparent by its exposing affairs to danger from unforeseen accident. Mutinies of the ill-paid garrisons in the Belgic towns palsied the arm of the conciliatory viceroy. After his death, don Juan of Austria — popular by his recent victory at Lepanto over the Turks — was sent to the Netherlands, to lure the Belgians into the snares of their ancient oppressors. The speciousness of the project, and the recent negotiations for his marriage with the queen of Scots, alarmed Elizabeth so much, that she determined at last, in the year 1577, openly to succour the insurgents.* A defensive and offensive alliance between the queen and the states-general was concluded at Brussels, in January, 1578 ; in which, besides the common conditions of so close an union, it was stipulated that the states should conclude no other treaty, nor adopt any important measure, without the assent of the queen of England ; to whose determination, in the event of disputes between the provinces, it was agreed that all parties should submit.†

It now becomes necessary to return to an incident in the year 1572, which connects the civil wars of France with those of the Netherlands, and throws a strong light upon the origin of both in the treaty of Bayonne. Shortly after the taking of Brille‡, count Louis of Nas-

* Grot. Ann. lib. iii. sub initio.

† Rym. Fœdera, xv. 784.

‡ May 25. 1572.

sau surprised Mons, a place then of great importance, from its position near the French frontiers, which facilitated the co-operation of the protestants with those of the Netherlands. In August Alva besieged this fortress; and the prince of Orange advanced to relieve it. One evening, when it had become dark, the prince was astonished at the extraordinary demonstrations of joy and triumph in the camp of Alva; where three rounds of musketry were discharged, martial music swelled into its most exulting tones, and bonfires were lighted on all the rising grounds around the encampment. His wonder was changed into horror when he learned from his scouts that those military rejoicings were on account of a massacre of several thousand huguenots, which had taken place two days before at Paris.*

The massacre of Paris, on St. Bartholomew's eve, is the most memorable state-crime of a century characterised by public atrocities. The murders of Sinigaglia sink into a minor delinquency when compared with it.† Cæsar Borgia, under the mask of negotiation, entrapped and strangled four persons, his avowed enemies, and familiar as himself with perfidy and cruelty. Charles IX., inspired by his mother's counsels and his own heart, surprised and slaughtered, without distinction of sex or age, many thousands of his subjects, whilst they obeyed him as their sovereign, confided in him as their protector, and offended only in rejecting his dogmas as a theologian. The politic tyrant may equal or surpass the religious bigot in utter recklessness of good faith and pity; but the bigot, armed with supreme power, is immeasurably the more grievous scourge of the human race. Some writers would extenuate this transcendent crime by maintaining that it was the result of circum-

* Strada, *De Bello Belgico*, lib. vii. edit. 1651. Mogunt. p. 250. The cool judgment of this eloquent jesuit, written in his study at Rome about sixty years after the event, deserves the attention of the reader:—"Insigne certe facinus, sed MERITUM CONJURATÆ IN REGEM FACTIONI SUPPLICIUM." The last words, that though the massacre "was a signal deed, yet it was a punishment deservedly incurred by a faction of conspirators against their sovereign," would have imported that it was a deliberate act, if they had been used by a more precise and less rhetorical writer.

† See Machiavelli, *Modo tenuto dal Duca Valentino*, &c.

stances, and an emergency, not of long premeditation; and by charging the horrors of indiscriminate slaughter upon the ungovernable impulses of a savage populace, not upon the policy of extermination adopted by an inhuman court. Contradictory judgments and historic doubts on points so material, revived and multiplied at the present day*, together with the direct bearing of the massacre on the position and counsels of Elizabeth, demand a more than passing notice of it in this place.

The extirpation of protestantism in France and the Low Countries, if not actually concerted, was at least brooded over by Catherine of Medicis and the duke of Alva, in 1565, at Bayonne. From that period to the pacification of 1570, whilst Alva was frankly fulfilling his mission by fire and sword in Flanders, no step appeared to be taken by Catherine, in the spirit of her particular counsels†, in France. Hence a presumption has been advanced against the alleged object of the interview of Bayonne, and the existence of premeditation, so early as 1565. But St. Sulpice, the French ambassador at Madrid, whilst negotiating the interview, covertly, yet intelligibly, states the political object‡; it should not be presumed that Catherine was idle because no overt act appeared; and Davila expressly asserts, that her frequent attempts during this interval to inveigle the huguenots were frustrated by the difficulty of the enterprise, and failure or treachery of the agents employed.§

The first scene of the drama which closed with so fearful a catastrophe appears to have been the pacification of 1570. Charles IX. was then only in his 21st

* See Lingard's Hist. vol. viii. Edin. Rev. No. 87. Lingard's Vindication. Allen's Reply. Châteaubriand, M&L Lit. M. Mignet, one of the most decidedly able and popular historians of his age, declares against premeditation, so far as he has yet proceeded with the work which he is preparing on the religious wars of France. It remains to be seen whether the theory which he has applied with a coup-d'œil so philosophical to the great popular movements of the French revolution, be equally applicable to the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

† See page 195. *antè*.

‡ "En que s'accordans si bien les deux plus grands princes de l'Europe, aussi seraient induits et contraincts leurs subjects à leur rendre l'obéissance due."—*Despatch of St. Gouard to Charles IX.*, dated 16th Feb. 1564. MSS. Bib. du Roi.

§ Dav. Stor. del. Guer. Civ. in Fran. lib. v.

year. Catherine, who well knew how deeply she was herself distrusted by the huguenots, put forward the young king as the chief performer. His youth and temperament combined, made him a proper instrument to deceive and to destroy. Open and impetuous in seeming, he was treacherous and ferocious in reality; and his mother had cultivated these auspicious dispositions, by placing about his person court adepts in vice and crime, who familiarised his mind with falsehood, and his sense with the spectacle of blood.* The coarsest ribaldries graced his ordinary conversation †; to serve his purpose he made light of imprecations and his oath ‡; he amused his leisure or displayed his prowess by killing brute animals, from rabbits, which he knocked on the head with a club, to pigs and asses which the royal executioner decollated with his sword at a blow.§ He had a mistress; but neither the beauty of Marie Touchet nor the profligate gallantries of his mother's court could seduce or soften a heart so atrocious. In fine, the crocodile, the tiger, and Charles IX., seem formed for their respective destinations in the inscrutable order of nature and the moral world.

If the court gave peace in order to compass its ends by secret practice after force had failed, the huguenots accepted it in order to establish themselves more firmly and securely at Rochelle, which, with some other strong places, they retained as a guarantee. || Coligny, having dismissed his German auxiliaries, and laid down his arms, retired into Rochelle with the protestant princes and the other chiefs. The huguenots were suspicious, vigilant, and sagacious, and the grand difficulty remained of luring them from their strong-hold into

* Brantôme, Mém. de Charles IX. Lettres à Coligny (Vie de Coligny, par l'Abbé Perau, et apud Thuan lib. lii).

† Mém de P. l'Est. Lettres de la Reine de Navarre (Vie de Coligny, par l'Abbé Perau).

‡ Brantôme.

§ Papirius Masso, Vita Caroli IX. Brant.

|| "Faisants (the huguenots) alors bien estat de faire entre eux tous une plus ferme union et bonne correspondance que jamais, et établir par leur continuelle résidence en cette ville (Rochelle) un solide fondement à leurs affaires."—Sully, *Œcon. Roy.* edit. orig. folio.

the toils of the court. After some time passed in preliminary masked movements, Charles commenced his grand and decisive manœuvre early in 1571. The queen of Navarre was at Rochelle. Marshal Biron arrived there, to propose, in the name of Charles, the marriage of his celebrated sister Margaret with Henry of Bourbon, prince of Navarre. The character of the negotiator inspired confidence, and he was unconscious of deceit. His proposal inflamed the ambition, touched the affections, and disturbed the ideas of the huguenot chiefs and the queen of Navarre, but without yet quieting their suspicions, or diverting them from their purpose. Jeanne d'Albret, the widow of a weak prince, had the rigid fanaticism of a huguenot, an experienced masculine capacity for public affairs, and a parent's views of ambition for her son. Recoiling with sectarian antipathy from the idea of his marrying a lady who invoked saints and went to mass, she yet saw the brilliant advantages which the marriage held out to him, and asked time for consultation with the theologians of her communion.* A separate temptation was thrown out to the admiral, in the pretended resolution of Charles to take part with the Flemings against Philip II.† This was a measure upon which he had set his heart both as a Frenchman and as a religionist. Charles desired his presence at court, not only to assist in the affair of the marriage, but to advise on the means of aiding the prince of Orange.

The queen of Navarre could not yet conquer her aversion; and Coligny was not yet deserted by his prudence. Minor discussions and fresh solicitations, the result of casual incidents, or of a profound under-current of design and intrigue, occupied the remainder of the year, and brought the huguenots gradually nearer to the court and to their doom. Whilst, if it may be so expressed, the angel of destruction hovered over their heads, they abandoned themselves in the security of

* *Mém. de l'Etat.* Thuan. *Hist. lib. l.*

† "*Quo magis Colinio salivam moverent.*" — *Thuan. Hist. lib. l.*

peace to the pleasures of society and the endearments of the domestic hearth. Rochelle exchanged the stern aspect of a state of war for bridal ensigns and nuptial festivities. The marriage of the prince of Condé was arranged, but not immediately solemnised. The admiral gave his daughter in marriage to Teligny, a young man, brought up under his eye, in whom the want of fortune was compensated by virtue, talents, and a character the most engaging.* His own marriage might figure in a romance. The countess d'Entremont, heiress of one of the first houses of Savoy, captivated by his reputation, declared that she would be the Marcia of the modern Cato †, set out from Savoy in defiance of an edict of the duke, by which her estates became forfeit, arrived at Rochelle, was received by Coligny as she merited, and became his wife.

Persecution had made the huguenots a distinct people—in war enemies, in peace aliens—in the bosom of their country. They still looked to Rochelle as their seat of government. A deputation from Rouen announced that a sanguinary outrage had been committed by the catholics upon the protestants of that city. The council of Rochelle sent deputies, among whom were the admiral's son-in-law and the celebrated Lanoue, to Charles for redress. Count Louis, of Nassau, brother of the prince of Orange, joined this deputation in disguise, for the purpose of conferring secretly with Charles at his request, on the subject of the war in Flanders. Charles received the deputies at Fontenai-la-Brie, in what they called “the most gracious manner,”—a prostitute court phrase, not yet become obsolete—promised ample justice; and proceeded with his mother and a few chosen confidants to confer privately with count Louis at the castle of Lumigny. The count urged the policy, and suggested the means, of aiding the Flemings. Charles listened, approved, and promised, but expressed his desire to consult personally with the admiral, upon whom

* Brantôme.

† Dav. lib. v. Mém. de l'Estat.

he proposed conferring the chief command.* The deputies, charmed with their reception and success, returned to Rochelle.

A slight but curious incident at the castle of Lumigny should have warned them of the character, if not the designs, of Charles. He gave orders, in their presence, "to turn out the rabbits from their burrow, that he might have the pleasure of killing them," and he executed this burlesque and barbarous rehearsal of the massacre of St. Bartholomew before their eyes.†

Teligny was charged by Charles with a letter to the admiral, earnestly desiring his presence and advice at court. These solicitations were repeated through marshal Montmorency by letter, and marshal De Cosse in person. The admiral confided in the consanguinity and friendship of the one, and in the character of the other. His prudence gave way, and he proceeded to Blois, where Charles and Catherine then held their court. Coligny knelt, and protested with an exaggerated and unworthy self-abasement, at the feet of a sovereign against whom he had three times rebelled.‡ Charles raised the rebel, whom he must have hated; caressed him with every demonstration of respect and tenderness; and, repeatedly calling him "father," used one of those expressions of double intent, by which, as perhaps in the massacre of the rabbits, his ferocity compounded with his dissimulation: — "We have you, and you shall not escape from us."§ Coligny, now loaded with court honours, flattered with the confidence of the king, an unconscious victim decorated and bound for sacrifice, was made an instrument, by Charles, to bring to court the huguenot chiefs, and the queen of Navarre. That strong-minded woman, after three months' resistance to the persuasions of Coligny, and solicitations of Charles and Catherine, arrived at Blois in February, 1572, with a train of friends, and an ominous presentiment of treachery or dis-

* Thuan. Davila. Mém. de l'Estat. Sully, Œcon. Royal.

† Mém. de l'Estat. Mezeray, Charles IX.

‡ Dav. lib. v.

§ Thuan, lib. l. Mém. de l'Estat.

aster.* "Have I not played my part well?" said Charles, on a particular occasion, to his mother. "Yes," said his mother; "but to commence is nothing, unless you go through." "Madame," said he, with an oath, "leave it to me: I will net them for you, every one."†

From this moment the huguenots seem to have rushed headlong to their fate. But the designs of the court encountered obstacles from another quarter. The plot was confined to Catherine, Charles, and the court cabal, called the secret council.‡ It was thought prudent to leave the courts of Spain and Rome in the dark §, whatever momentary embarrassment might arise. The huguenots had every where their emissaries or friends; and the conspirators knew all would be cleared up satisfactorily by the result.|| So eager and active was Coligny in pressing the measure of aiding the prince of Orange, that Charles could not, without discovering himself, prevent the expedition of the count de Nassau. The capture of Mons by the count startled Philip and the duke of Alva. General disavowals, and imperfect explanations from Charles and Catherine, could not satisfy them. Alva suspected treachery on the part of his confederate of Bayonne. "If," said he, to the French envoy, "the queen sends me flowers of Florence, I will send her in return thistles of Spain."¶ The son of the duke of Alva laid siege to Mons. Coligny urged Charles to relieve the besieged, and offered the services of 3000 gentlemen of his party. Charles took a list of the principal names, desired that those who were absent should repair to Paris, and mentioned the offer to marshal Tavares.—"Sire," said the courtier and massacer, in reply, "the subject who offered you what was already your own should lose

* *Lettres de la Reine de Navarre à son Fils*; (apud Perau, *Vie de Coligny*). Laboureur, *Mém. de Cast.*

† *Mém. de l'État*. Sully, *Œcon. Royal*. Thuan. *Hist.*

‡ Capilupi, *lo Stratagemma*, &c. Davila, *Stor. &c.* The secret council comprised Nevers, Retz, Birague, Tavares, Anjou, at various stages up to the massacre. Catherine, upon some questions, consulted or confided in only one or two. Even in this small cabal she had a council within a council. Capilupi, *Stratagemma*, &c.

§ *Dav. Stor. lib. v.*

|| *Ibid.*

¶ *Mez. Charles IX.*

his head." Genlis, a huguenot officer of distinction proceeded to the relief of Mons with 3000 or 4000 volunteers, who were cut in pieces or made prisoners by Alva, in consequence of secret notice of the expedition given to him from the French court.* When the news of this disaster reached Paris, Charles made a masterly display of feigned sorrow.† The pope, on the other hand, refused a dispensation for the marriage of Margaret and Henry, between whom there was a double impediment of kindred and religion. Charles, in explanation, admitted that his reception of the admiral might appear strange to many who had not a complete insight into his intentions; expressed his hope that the pope did not suspect any diminution of his true piety and ardent zeal for the catholic religion; protested that all his wishes tended to repair the ravages which "our sins had brought upon the church of God;" and wished his heart could be read with the natural eye, to show that it was as clear and pure as could be wished.‡ With respect to the marriage, he said, it was counselled by those who always had the first place in his confidence (no doubt, meaning the queen-mother), as the best expedient to give peace to his kingdom, and bring over the prince of Navarre "to our holy mother church."§ Pius V., who had much to do with kings, and put little trust in them, not satisfied with these assurances, ordered the legate, Alessandrino, to proceed from Portugal to France, avert the war with Spain, prevent the heretical marriage, and propose the king of Portugal for the husband of Margaret. Charles received the legate with the most flattering distinctions, presented him a diamond ring||, which he took from his own finger, repeated the assurance of his pure intentions, said, in a tone mysteriously significant, that "he wished

* Mendoza, apud Thuanum, lib. lii. Sir R. Williams's *Actions of the Low Countries*. Lord Som Tracts.

† "Et quo rex magnum se dolorem sentire egregio simulavit" — *Thuan.* lib. li.

‡ Charles to the pope. MSS. Bib. du Roi. See Appendix A.

§ Ibid. See idem.

|| Capilupi, Stratagema. Davil. Stor. lib. v.

he could speak out, but his holiness would one day be the first to praise his zeal and piety * ;” and, according to an authority which it seems impossible to reject, even declared that he adopted this only mode left him of avenging himself upon the huguenots.† The legate declined the present‡; the pope still peremptorily refused his dispensation; the marriage treaty proceeded in avowed defiance of his holiness, and the huguenots were confirmed in their fatal security.

Was Charles, as some assert, really subdued by the ascendancy of Coligny, or did the arch-dissembler revel in hypocrisy and his triumph? He privately told the admiral that he would henceforth be his own master, and desired that their plans against the king of Spain should be concealed from his mother. Coligny suggested the difficulty of escaping her penetration, and the advantages to be derived from her wisdom. — “Father, you mistake,” said Charles: “she is the greatest mar-plot on earth.” He pronounced his council unworthy of his confidence, passing them individually in review with a contemptuous running commentary.§ Even the pope was mentioned by him in a tone of disrespectful familiarity. “My aunt,” said he to the queen of Navarre, “I honour you more than the pope, and I love my sister more than I fear him. I am no huguenot, but I am no fool neither; and if Mr. Pope does not mend his manners, I will myself give away Margery in full conventicle.” || He manifested all this time, in his savage amusements and rude court pranks, the most buoyant spirits and most careless humour.¶ The clear-sighted Walsingham, then ambassador in France, speaks of him

* Capil. Strat. Catena, apud Thuan, lib. li.

† Letters of Cardinal Ossat, cited by Mr. Allen in his “Reply.” See Appendix B.

‡ Charles sent it after him to the French ambassador; but, in a subsequent letter, desired that it should not be given, as then it would be thrown away; probably because Pius V., uncle of the legate, had just died. Charles to Ferralz. MSS. Bib. du Roi. § See Appendix C.

§ *Mém. de P. l'Est.* Thuan, lib. lii.

|| “Ma tante, je vous honore plus que le pape, et aime plus ma sœur que je ne le crains. Je ne suis pas huguenot, mais je ne suis pas sot aussi. Si monsieur le pape fait trop la beste, je prendrai moi même Margot par la main, et la meneray espouser en pleine prêche.” — *Mém. de l'Etat.*

¶ “Le roy ne parust jamais avec un esprit plus libre et plus enjoué. Il

in one letter as "wholly given up to pleasure;" and expresses in another his hopes of "the king's revolt from papistry."* Catherine, at the same time, had scenes of violent jealousy and pathetic reconciliation, real or pretended, with her son.† She at moments entered into the views of Coligny against Spain, the better to deceive him, or from her real unsteadiness, and accounted for her new disposition, by having recently discovered that Philip II. had poisoned her dear daughter Elizabeth.‡

The treaty of marriage was signed at Blois on the 11th of April. But a new question arose. Charles proposed that it should be solemnised in the capital. The queen of Navarre and her friends objected to Paris, where the catholics were all-powerful, the huguenots hated, and the populace devoted to the Guises. Charles insisted and prevailed; and the queen of Navarre, on the 15th of May, set out for Paris, where she died in a few days, of fatigue, vexation, and regret.§

The admiral meantime visited his family at the castle of Châtillon. Counsels and remonstrances against trusting himself in Paris reached him from various quarters. He rejected all advice, and even angrily rebuked his friends.|| "Rather," said he, "than renew the horrors of civil war, I would be dragged a corpse through the streets of Paris ¶;" and the alternative which he thus

se d'artissait à mille folastres passetemps, se levait de grand matin pour fouetter les gentilhommes et les demoiselles dans leurs lits." — *Mezeray, Charles IX.*

* Digges.

† M. de Tav. Père Daniel, Hist. de France.

‡ Mém. de Pierre l'Estoile. In a letter from Catherine to the French ambassador at Venice (MSS. Bib. du Roi), she instructs him to say, that the king her son will avenge the death of her daughter Elizabeth on the king of Spain.

§ There was a groundless story of her being poisoned with perfumed gloves by the queen mother's Italian perfumer. Margaret of Valois relates, in her Memoirs, an anecdote which illustrates humorously the extent to which court dissimulation was carried. Margaret made a visit of ceremony to the remains of the queen of Navarre, attended by the duchess of Nevers, between whom and the deceased there was a mutual and mortal hatred. "La duchesse," says Margaret, "part de nostre troupe, et apres plusieurs belles humbles et grandes reverences s'approche de son lit, et luy prenant la main la luy baise; puis avec une grande reverence pleine de respect, se met auprès de nous."

|| Thuan. lib. lii.

¶ Ibid.

supposed was one of the least shocking indignities which awaited him. Similar warnings were conveyed in vain to Henry, called, since the death of his mother, king of Navarre.*

The opportune succession of Gregory XIII. to the inflexible Pius promised facilities for obtaining a dispensation. Charles instructed his ambassador Ferralz to express to the new pontiff the assurance of his good intentions in the marriage; his confidence that between Henry's docility and deference to him, and "his being on his part not asleep to the means of giving peace to his kingdom," he should make him a catholic; and, in fine, his resolution, if the dispensation were refused, to have the marriage solemnised without it.† Gregory sent a conditional dispensation, the terms of which could not be complied with, and the cardinal de Bourbon refused to perform the ceremony. Charles became impatient of delay; spoke of the cardinal's superstitious scruples with contempt‡; commanded Mandelot §, governor of Lyons, to stop, as of his own authority, every courier to and from Italy for the next four days after the receipt of his orders, and overcame the objections of the cardinal by means of a forged letter, announcing, in the name of the French ambassador at Rome, that a regular dispensation was on its way, and the marriage meantime might be solemnised.||

The ceremony took place on the 18th of August, in a temporary building adjoining the cathedral of Nôtre Dame,—for the rigid huguenots would not enter the church. A strangely mingled turmoil of nuptial revelry and murderous deliberation immediately followed. The same personages figured one moment at a banquet, a masque, or a tournament, and were sitting the next hour

* Henry IV. related, that whilst he was engaged at play with the dukes of Alençon and Guise, a few days before St. Bartholomew's eve, the dice appeared dotted with blood, and filled the players with consternation. This optical phenomenon, produced by the accident of a certain angle between the black dots on the dice and the sun's rays, was recorded or rejected by historians as a prodigy, until Voltaire suggested the natural and obvious solution.

† Char. to Fer. MSS. Bib. du Roi. See Appendix D.

‡ Thuan. lib. lii.

§ MSs. Bib. du Roi.

|| Thuan. lib. iii.

in secret conclave upon the shedding of blood. The medley of bigotry and gaiety, gallantry and barbarity, sensuality and carnage, which characterised the French court at this period, presents, says a philosophic historian, the most fantastic picture ever exhibited of the contradictions of the human species.*

Two days after the marriage, Coligny complained to Charles of some outrage offered to the huguenots of a provincial town. "Father," said Charles impatiently, "give me but four days to divert myself, and, on the word of a king, you and those of your religion shall no longer complain †;" and this atrocious equivocation passed for good faith upon Coligny. The duke of Guise was attended by a numerous armed and devoted train of friends and dependants. Charles proposed to Coligny, that, to overawe the Guises, the regiment of guards should be brought into the capital. The admiral gratefully assented to a measure, of which his own safety appeared the object. ‡

On the 22d of August, as Coligny walked slowly from the Louvre towards his house, looking over a paper which had been put into his hand, Maurevel, a noted assassin, called "the king's slayer §," lying in wait for him in a house belonging to a dependant of the duke of Guise, discharged an arquebuse loaded with two bullets, one of which wounded Coligny in the right hand, the other in the left arm. The wounded admiral having pointed with undisturbed tranquillity to the place whence the arquebuse was fired, sent to inform the king, and walked to his house, leaning on two attendants. Charles was playing at tennis with the duke of Guise when the message reached him. He dashed his racket against the ground, exclaiming with an oath, "Shall I never have peace?" whilst Guise walked quietly out of the tennis court.|| Meanwhile the assassin, mounted

* Essai sur les Mœurs, &c.

† Mém. de Pierre l'Estoile.

‡ Thuan. Hist. lib. lii.

§ Brantôme.

Mém. de l'Estat. Thuan. Hist. lib. lii.

on a fleet horse from the royal stable, escaped through the port St. Antoine.

Coligny's wounds were so dangerous as to threaten death. He expressed a wish to see the king, for the purpose of giving him a faithful subject's dying counsel. Charles came with his mother and a train of courtiers, heard the advice of Coligny, comforted him with such expressions of sympathy, as "Father, the wound is yours, but the pain is mine;" and commanded, within thirty hours, the execution of a massacre which should begin with the trusting and already dying man, to whom he had thus expressed condolence, and promised justice at his bedside.

The populace manifested symptoms of violence. Coligny, upon being informed, sent to Charles for half a dozen royal archers to protect his house from insult; of danger he had no thought. Charles and the duke of Anjou, who was present when the message was communicated, forced upon Cornaton, the messenger, a guard of fifty men, commanded by Cosseins, a devoted partisan of the Guises and enemy of Coligny.* All catholics were ordered to evacuate, and the protestants to occupy, the quarter in which he resided, under the same pretence of regard for his safety.† The Vidame de Chartres alone suspected treachery, proposed to remove Coligny out of Paris by force or stratagem, was over-ruled, exclaimed, "Perish who will by the rascally rabble of Paris, I reserve myself for better fortune," took up or resumed his quarters in the suburb beyond the Seine‡, and escaped the massacre.

The great body of the huguenots shut their eyes and ears §, and submitted like men under a spell. Meanwhile

* Mém. de l'Estat.

† Thuan. lib. lii. Mém. de l'Estat.

‡ Two other officers had obtained the admiral's leave to retire, even before he was wounded. Upon his asking their motive, one answered, "You are too much caressed here;" the other said, in reply to the admiral's reasonings, "I would rather be saved with fools, than perish with the wise."

§ "Hæc et alia indicia et passim sparsi susurri, nisi mens læva fuisset, ad admonendos protestantes satis essent, tamen constanti dissimulatione regis effectum est ut Collinius et Telinius, nihil inclementius aut tale quicquam de ejus animo sibi persuadere possent." — Thuan. Hist. lib. lii.

the secret conclave round Charles and Catherine was choosing between counsels distinguished from each other only by gradations of the horrible. One is stated to have been, that the Montmorencies should be massacred with the admiral and his friends; another, proposed secretly to the queen, was that the Guises, after having exterminated those two factions, should in their turn be exterminated by the court. The sublime perfidy of the latter counsel was thought hazardous or impracticable; the Montmorencies were saved by the fortunate or prudent absence of the marshal, who would survive to avenge them; and the duke of Guise, who never supposed that his own fate was in the balance, was charged with the execution.

Guise had long been the favoured lover of Margaret of Valois, and regarded Coligny as his father's assassin. Having made his dispositions, he awaited the signal with the impatient vengeance of one who had been robbed by the huguenots of a father and a mistress. But as the fearful moment drew near, resolution or his nerves began to fail Charles. His frame trembled, and cold drops stood upon his brow.* The relentless Catherine, supported by Anjou, Nevers, Birague, Retz, and Tavannes, worked upon his pride, his vengeance, and his fears; and he told them with an oath not to leave a huguenot to reproach him. Catherine ordered the tocsin to sound on the instant. It was two in the morning. A vague tumultuous preparatory stir attracted the notice of some protestant gentlemen residing in the palace, or in the quarter of the Louvre. They went out to enquire the cause, and were speared to death. Guise, Aumale, and the bastard of Angoulême went to the house of the admiral. The treacherous Cosseins demanded and obtained admission in the king's name; and a young German, named Bêmes, having slain Coligny, threw his head from the window into the court below, to satisfy Guise that the deed was done.

The general slaughter immediately followed. "Cou-

* Thuan. lib. lii. Mezeray, Hist. de France, Charles IX.

rage," said Guise to his blood-hounds, "our game is in the toils*: it is the king's order." The devoted huguenots were massacred in their beds, or shot on the roofs of houses † as they endeavoured to escape. The memoirs of the time and succeeding histories have described the savage yells of the murderers, the agonised cries of the victims, the crashing of forced doors, the dull echo of human bodies flung from windows, or fallen from house-tops on the pavement below, as a horrid concert, the like of which was never heard. The morning sun of the 24th of August discovered the streets of Paris and the court and apartments of the Louvre choked with dead bodies, or streaming with blood. Guise, Aumale, and the bastard of Angoulême directed and shared the work of death in one quarter; Anjou, Montpensier, Nevers, and Tavanès in another. Charles discharged his long arquebuse from the Louvre upon the fugitives beyond the Seine; "but in vain," says Brantôme: "it did not carry so far." Massacre and pillage went on with intermittent fury for eight days and nights. Catholics were involved in the slaughter. Private interests and personal animosities borrowed the poniard and the mask of religious fury, and (*flexile ludibrium!*) the logic of the schools shed blood. Peter Ramus the antistagyrite was massacred by his antagonist Charpentier.

The lives of the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé were spared, but at the expense of their consciences. After witnessing the massacre of their attendants, they appeared before Charles, who, with fury in his voice and looks, bade them choose between death and the mass.‡ Henry submitted with trembling humility, Condé in a manlier tone §; and both were handed over for religious instruction to the cardinal of Bourbon.|| The mutilated trunk of Coligny, after being subjected to indignities the most revolting, was exposed on a gibbet at Montfaucon

* "Feram habemus irretitam." *Thuan.* lib. lii.

† The word used in some of the memoirs of the time, and adopted by Mezeray, is "canardes," (taken down like wild ducks, by a long shot.)

‡ Sully, *Econ. Roy.*

§ *Dav. Istor.* Mezeray, *Hist. de France.*

|| *Salviati*, Extracts made by M. de Châteaubriand.

to a slow fire; while the head was despatched by the duke of Guise to his uncle the cardinal of Lorraine, at Rome.*

Charles IX., startled by the aspect, or shrinking from the odium, of the carnage around him, towards evening on the first day proclaimed that the massacre, originating in the mutual hatred of two irreconcilable factions, was the work of the Guises, and that he was prepared to make common cause with his brother the king of Navarre, and his cousin the prince of Condé, in quelling the tumult, and avenging the death of "his *cousin* the admiral."† But either the queen-mother and secret council thought it impolitic to declare that the court was unable to control a faction‡; or the Guises, repudiating the exclusive odium, insisted upon Charles's avowing his counsels and his orders; and he, on the following Tuesday, after hearing mass, claimed for himself, in full parliament, the merit of having given peace to his kingdom, and defeated a conspiracy against his own, his mother's, and his brother's precious lives, by cutting off an incorrigible faction and inveterate traitor. Christopher de Thou, first president, a man, says his illustrious son, of mild character, and wholly averse to blood, accommodating himself to the time, praised the king's prudence, and expatiated on the maxim of Louis XI., *qui nescit dissimula renescit regnare*.§ The king's most gracious speech was recorded in the archives; the mock conspiracy was made the subject of a mock enquiry; and the business closed with a melancholy spectacle of human infirmity, in a procession of thanksgiving by the high court of parliament, with Charles at its head. It was ordered that the ceremony should be annually re-

* Despatch of Mandelôt, governor of Lyons, to Charles IX., who had ordered the head to be stopped in transitu (MSS. Bib. du Roi.). But one of Guise's esquires had already passed with it before the order reached Lyons.

† Mém. de l'Etat.

‡ Thuan. Hist. lib. iii.

§ There is, in the State Paper Office, a despatch of Dale, the successor of Walsingham as English ambassador at Paris, in which it is stated, that twelve months after the massacre the cardinal of Lorraine publicly applauded Charles to his face for his "holy dissimulation," (*sainte dissimulation*.)

peated, and medals were struck in *æternam rei memoriam*. But, though fanaticism may flatter itself with being eternal, and though, in truth, it seems to have grown up as a new passion in human nature, with the succession of revealed truth to the mythology of the pagans, reason soon obtained the ascendancy, the procession was not repeated, "*excidat ille dies*" became its epitaph, and the medals remain in the cabinets of the curious, to remind men of what they may be made by wicked rulers and their own passions.

Similar massacres followed at Meaux, Troyes, Orléans, Toulouse, Bourdeaux, Lyons, and other towns throughout France. Some local governors generously declined compliance with the orders of the court.*

To estimate in detail the conflicting evidence for and against the conclusion of pre-existing malice and design which pervades the foregoing sketch, would be to retard the narrative, swell the text to an inadmissible compass, and go over the ground trodden in a controversy of recent date.† There is, however, a new and unpublished testimony against premeditation discovered, relied on, and privately communicated by one who is himself a high authority in every sense, which for these reasons demands particular notice and respect. "When the library of the Vatican," says Châteaubriand‡, "was at Paris (an invaluable treasure, which almost nobody thought of), I caused researches to be made in it, and discovered documents the most precious respecting St. Bartholomew's day. If truth be to be met any where, it is assuredly in letters written in cipher to the sovereign pontiff, and condemned to eternal secrecy. It results positively from these letters, that the St. Bartholomew was not premeditated; that it was but the sudden consequence of the admiral's being wounded; and that the number of victims (always too great, no doubt,) was below the accounts of some his-

* See Appendix (E.)

† See note *, p. 212. If the force of evidence and argument, brought to bear upon the question by Mr. Allen, has not settled it, the reason may be, that it is one of those questions which are incapable of being settled.

‡ Mém. Litt.

torians." The documents described as thus precious and conclusive are the despatches of the papal nuncio Salviati, written between the 5th of July and the 27th of November, 1572, from Paris to his court. It is necessary to give an idea of the state of the question, before this new witness is introduced.*

One of the first objections to the supposition of design is the attack on the single life of the admiral, which, by alarming the huguenots, would, it is urged, defeat the purpose of a general massacre. The objection is met by two contemporary and classic historians, De Thou and Davila, the one charged with a leaning to the huguenots, the other openly favourable to Catherine of Medicis, his benefactress, and the court. The plan, they state, of the secret council was, that Coligny should be assassinated, under such circumstances as to throw suspicion on the Guises; and that the huguenots, who, it was calculated, would be sure to rise in arms to avenge the death of their chief on its supposed authors, should be overpowered and massacred. This conception, far from being improbable, accords with the finesse, and the inhumanity of Catherine of Medicis; and, what is still more important, if not absolutely decisive, it accords with the first version put forward by Charles on the first day of the massacre.

On the other side, it is alleged that the admiral only was to be taken off; that the attempt upon his life was made without the knowledge of Charles; and that its failure led to the general massacre. The testimony of three persons, Margaret, Tavanès, and Anjou,—the two last participators, the first an eye-witness,—is adduced in support of this account. It may be dismissed very briefly. The memoirs of Margaret of Valois, queen of Navarre, are entertaining as a sort of historical romance,

* M. de Châteaubriand communicated his copies and extracts from the despatches of Salviati to the late sir James Mackintosh; and, upon the death of sir James, had the kindness to transfer them to Dr. LARDNER. There is some hardihood in differing with the judgment formed of them by M. de Châteaubriand, but they left unshaken the previous conviction of sir James Mackintosh; and the impression made by them upon a Frenchman distinguished for his generous character, would naturally be affected by a regard for the honour of his religion, his country, and humanity itself.

in which that gay princess vindicates her life, and gauzes over her gallantries, with an arch simplicity and a negligent grace of style, which make the informed reader smile at her want of truth. As an historical authority they scarcely deserve mention. She, indeed, avows her ignorance of the massacre * until a wounded man, pursued by the king's archers, rushed into her bed-chamber, clasped her in his arms, covered her with his blood, implored her to save him, and was rescued at her request by the captain of these assassins.

The memoirs of marshal Tavanés are next relied on. They deny premeditation ; and the testimony of a man who figured in the war, the pacification, the marriage, and the massacre, might be important, though still not conclusive. But the testimony is not his. The memoirs were composed by his son, many years after his death, without a particle of information, verbal or written, derived from him.† So reserved was Tavanés on the subject of the part played by him in the St. Bartholomew, as it is called, that he declined touching upon it when he made his confession as a catholic on his death-bed.‡ The conduct and sentiments which, in different situations, these memoirs assign to him, clash so violently with other and accredited accounts, that they are repudiated expressly by his biographer, a writer of acknowledged integrity and research.§ Tavanés was an ambitious, daring adventurer, who, to make his fortune at court, stopped at nothing, however desperate in hazard or atrocity. He began his career by offering Catherine of Medicis his services, to cut off the nose of Diana of Poitiers, her husband's mistress ; and his last signal act was to halloo on the assassins of St. Bartholomew with the cry of " Bleed, bleed ! the doctors say bleeding does good in August as in May." || The evidence of the

* Pour moy l'on ne me dissait rien de tout ceci. . . . Les huguenots me tenoient suspecte parceque j'estais catholique, et les catholiques parceque j'avais espousé le roy de Navarre qui estait huguenot."—*Mém. de Marg. de Val.*

† Pref. *Mém. de Tav.*

‡ *Mém. de Tav.*

§ Abbé Perau, *Vies des Hom. Ill. ; Vie de Tav.*

|| Brant. apud Laboureur, *Mém. de Cast.* *Mém. de l'Estaf.*

man himself, in his own vindication, would be worth little. The arrogant and unsupported pleading by which his son would render his memory less odious to Henry IV., and to the world, failed to satisfy either, and is worth nothing.

The third evidence against design is the "Discourse" * or confession attributed to Henry III., when king of Poland. The circumstances under which it professes to have been made are extraordinary. On his way to Poland, he was received with marks of disgust and execration for his share in the massacre. The recollection of this usage still haunted him after he had reached his destination. Finding one night at Cracow that it deprived him of sleep, he summoned "a person of honour and quality" to his bedside, and unburdened himself of "the discourse upon the causes and motives of the St. Bartholomew." The first question, upon such a document, is that of authenticity. Its pretensions may be briefly stated. It is usually referred to as published in the memoirs of Villeroy. This is a misapprehension: it first appeared in a collection of state papers, forming a suite to (not of) the memoirs of the secretary of Charles IX. The credit of producing it is given to Menil-Bazire, an advocate, by whom Villeroy's memoirs were republished.† But the name of Menil-Bazire appears only to the memoirs of Villeroy; while the dedication of the suite, or supplement, which contains "the discourse," is signed with the initials of the printer.‡ Thus slender is the foundation upon which it rests. The account of the "causes and motives" is in substance as follows:— Henry (Anjou) and his mother several times found Charles marvellously violent and refractory §, after conference with admiral Coligny. One day, shortly before

* "Discours du roy Henry III. à un personnage d'honneur et de qualité estant près de sa majesté à Cracovie, des causes et motifs de la St. Bartholomew"

the massacre, Henry entered the cabinet of Charles immediately after the admiral had left it, was received by him with fierce looks and an ominous gripe of the handle of his dagger; expected momentarily to be collared and poniarded; made his escape while Charles, who was pacing the room in silent fury, had his back turned, and immediately informed his mother of the scene. Upon this the mother and son resolved to have the admiral despatched, and concerted the means with madame de Nemours, who mortally hated Coligny.* The attempt on the life of the admiral having failed, Henry and his mother determined to do openly what could no longer be effected by contrivance and finesse. It was necessary that Charles should be brought to consent. They accordingly directed Nevers, Retz, Tavannes, and Birague to meet them in Charles's cabinet, for the purpose of consulting on the means of executing what Catherine and Henry had already resolved. Catherine opened the deliberations, saying that the huguenots were already taking measures to renew the war; that they had sent to raise troops in the Provinces, in Switzerland and in Germany; and that the catholics, if Charles refused their counsel, to have the admiral, the chief and author of the civil war, despatched, would appoint a captain-general. Charles was irritated to fury, but still, "wished at first that they

* She regarded Coligny as the assassin of her first husband, Francis duke of Guise. Sir J. Mackintosh (see page 189. ante) treats the imputations upon Coligny, by catholic writers, as groundless; and observes, that the assassin must have been a self-actuated fanatic, because escape was nearly impossible. The remark is thrown out by sir James in passing; but the reason is not tenable. Poltrot pretended to be a deserter; obtained Guise's confidence; chose his time when alone to strike him from behind; actually made his escape, for which he was provided; rode several leagues away, as he thought, during the night; lost his way; found himself, by a sort of fatality, at the very scene of his crime in the morning; and was taken up, on suspicion of his disordered looks. Put to the torture, he accused Theodore Beza of having preached, and Coligny of having bribed him into the commission of the act. His depositions were contradictory; and of what value are the agonies of a wretch on the rack? Coligny indignantly denied the charge, and demanded to be confronted with the accuser, and was refused. He should have stopped here: but he published a formal defence, in which he admitted sending Poltrot as a spy to Guise's camp, giving him money, hearing some one say he would kill Guise in his camp if he could, and not dissuading such person; because he had been duly informed that Guise and St. André had employed persons to assassinate him (Coligny), his brother D'Andelot, and the prince of Condé. This avowal is assuredly suspicious and unfortunate. Edit. C.B. Cyc.

should not touch the admiral." * Retz, to the great disappointment of Catherine and Henry †, spoke against the proposal; expatiating upon "honour," "duty," "humanity," and "the judgment of after-times," with such vehemence that Catherine and Henry "were struck dumb." ‡ But, recovering the use of their tongues and faculties, they returned to the charge; and Charles, undergoing "a sudden and marvellous metamorphosis," declared with an oath, that "since they thought it right to kill the admiral, he consented; but that they should also kill all the huguenots of France, so as not to leave one to reproach him — and do it promptly." The execution was ordered "promptly;" but the first pistol-shot terrified Catherine and Henry, while they stood at a window, "considering the consequences of so great an enterprise, *which, to speak truth, they had scarcely thought of before.*" They countermanded the massacre; but it was too late. "Such, monsieur Such-a-one," concludes the discourse, "is the true history of the St. Bartholomew, which has this night troubled my understanding." §

Is it credible that Nevers, Retz, Tavanès, and Birague had not been consulted and prepared by Catherine before they met her in the presence of Charles? Is it credible that a measure so momentous in its consequences was adopted with such levity, in a court of which the counsels were as politic as they were inhuman? It will suffice to add, that the apocryphal document, published in 1623, has been disregarded by the best French writers who have treated the history of their country, — by Mezeray, Péréfixe, Henaut, Mably, Millot, Voltaire. Retz is put forward so prominently and favourably, as perhaps to warrant the conjecture that this document was forged, to relieve his memory from the prevalent opinion that he was the person

* "Ne voulant au commencement aucunement qu'on touchast à l'admiral." — *Discours*, &c.

† "Trompa bien notre espérance." — *Ibid.*

‡ "Nous osta les paroles et répliques de la bouche." — *Ibid.*

§ Voilà, M. l'el, la vraie histoire de la St. Barthélemy, qui m'a troublé cette nuit l'entendement." — *Ibid.*

who privately counselled Catherine to complete the massacre by the extinction of the Guises. The countryman and creature of the queen-mother, is it credible that he thus thwarted her designs? He accompanied Henry III. to Poland.

Thus stood the evidence of eye-witnesses against premeditation for two centuries, when M. de Châteaubriand brought to light the despatches of Salviati. The testimony of the nuncio may be stated in few words. In a letter of the 22d, addressed to the cardinal secretary of state, he describes the attempt that day on the life of the admiral.* One particular only merits attention. The assassin, he says, was received in the house from which he fired at the admiral as the friend of M. de Chailli, the king's maître d'hôtel, but without the knowledge of Chailli; for he was still in the palace doing his duty as a servant of the king. On the 24th †, he writes that, at two o'clock that morning, all the huguenots were cut in pieces by command of the king; that the massacre was provoked by the arrogance of the huguenots upon the admiral's being wounded, and especially by the excessive insolence of Rochefoucault and Teligny, on the 23d, to the queen-mother; that, if the assassin had killed the admiral on the spot, *he cannot bring himself to believe that so much would have been done at a blow.* Writing on the 27th ‡, in cipher, he says, that the art with which the admiral insinuated himself into the king's confidence, and the imperiousness with which he used his influence at court, excited the discontent of Morvilliers, the count de Retz, and others, and provoked violent jealousy in the queen-mother; that it was secretly concerted with madame de Nemours "to get out of trouble" by having the admiral despatched with an arquebuse by a German § dependant of M. de Guise the elder; that the attempt was made with the knowledge of M. d'Anjou, *but not of the king*; that upon the ad-

* See Appendix F.

† See Appendix G.

‡ See Appendix H.

§ The nuncio seems to confound Maurevel, who attempted, with the German, Beme, who took, the life of Coligny.

miral's not dying of his wounds, the queen-mother became alarmed by her dangerous position, her conscience, and the insolence of the "whole huguenotery," and, in consequence, persuaded the king to the general massacre which followed. Referring to the same subject, in a letter of the 22d of September *, and still addressing the cardinal secretary, he writes, "Who it was that caused the discharge of an arquebuse at the admiral, and from what cause, and to whom should be attributed the last resolution of killing so many, and who were the actors, with the names of the chief heads; all this I know from having it in writing, and I do not deceive myself a jot. And if I have failed to write some other particulars, the chief cause is the difficulty in this quarter of arriving at the truth." This passage is most material. It implies, that accounts at variance with his had been received at Rome; that he was told he deceived himself, and that (finding it thus difficult to discover the truth) he was not even yet in the confidence of the parties to the massacre. The implication is resistless, and strikes at the root of his testimony. He, however, reiterates his account with a defiance which proves nothing, writing in cipher under the same date†:—"Time will determine whether there be any truth in accounts differing from mine, respecting the discharge of the arquebuse and death of the admiral. Madame the regent ‡ having come to a misunderstanding with the admiral, after only a few days' determination, had him fired at, *without the knowledge of the king*, but with the participation of M. d'Anjou, madame de Nemours, and M. de Guise, her son. And if the admiral had died on the instant, no others would have been killed; and upon his not dying, and their apprehending some great evil, allying themselves closely with the king, they resolved to throw aside all restraint §, and have him slain with the rest, and that very night it was put in execution."

* See Appendix I.

† See Appendix K.

‡ The queen-mother, who was no longer regent, though she still ruled.

§ "Buttare la vergogna di banda."

This is the whole evidence of Salviati against premeditation. It consists of simple and brief assertion, without a syllable of direct or circumstantial proof. Its value depends upon this startling proposition, that if design existed he must have known it. But Davila expressly says the design* existed, and was concealed from him through extreme care to prevent discovery.* Another reason is furnished by himself, in the violent jealousy with which Catherine of Medicis repelled any attempt of the pope to influence her measures of government even with respect to the huguenots.† His despatches, in fact, are those of a diplomatist who, instead of sharing, was ever labouring to penetrate, the designs of the court. Charles and Catherine communicated with the pope, not through Salviati, but through their ambassador Ferralz, or a special envoy. In a despatch dated the very 24th of August to the ambassador, after slurring over the massacre as a quarrel between the huguenots and Guises, in exact conformity with the scheme attributed to the secret council before the massacre, Charles says, “ I hope that, *for the reasons which your nephew (the bearer) will explain to you,* his holiness the pope will *no longer* make any difficulty in granting me the dispensation or absolution.” ‡ Catherine and her son knew well when to use verbal, not written, communications. The inference appears all but certain, that the envoy was instructed to appeal to the massacre as clearing up his previous conduct, and proving the truth of his assurances as to his object in the marriage, and his designs against the huguenots. But Salviati refutes himself. Excusing to the pope the treacherous or futile edict of pacification which immediately followed the massacre, he says, “ This queen, in process of time, intends not only to recall the edict, but to restore, by means of penal justice, the catholic faith in its ancient observance ; it appearing to her that

* Dav. Ist. lib. v.

† His despatches, *passim*.

‡ Charles to Ferralz, ambassador at Rome. MSS. Bib. du Roi. See Appendix C.

no one ought to doubt it, now that they have put to death the admiral, and so many other valorous men, in accordance with conversations formerly held with myself, when I was at Blois, treating of the marriage of Navarre and other things which were matters of discussion at that period; and the truth of this I can testify to his holiness and all the world." * In a letter of the 3d of September, his self-refutation is conclusive, unless Salviati be better authority for the secret designs of Charles than Charles himself:—"The letter of his holiness, written with his own hand, has proved most acceptable to his majesty, who has spoken to me anew of the dispensation, saying, as his excuse, that in the marriage he had no other object than to deliver himself of his enemies." † Salviati agrees with the "discourse of Henry III." as to the share of madame de Nemours in the attempt upon the life of the admiral; but he agrees, also, on the same point with Adriani ‡, who stands among the earliest and best authorities for premeditation. One word more, and the nuncio may be dismissed. Denying Charles a merit, not exculpating him from a crime, he (it has been observed) twice asserts, in a parenthesis of the same four words repeated, that the attempt to assassinate the admiral was made "without the knowledge of the king." § The question is immaterial as affecting premeditation. Catherine and the secret council may have exercised their discretion in acquainting him or not with the first act of the forthcoming tragedy, as it was correctly viewed and termed by the more prudent minority of the huguenots at the admiral's bedside. His indignation at the tennis court, and his sorrow at Coligny's bedside, prove nothing, or favour the suspicion of his being an accomplice. In judging Charles IX., the presumption is on the side of dissimulation and atrocity. His remorse after the mas-

* See Appendix G.

† "La lettera di man propria di S. B. e stata carma. a S. M. che di novo mi ha parlato della dispensa, excusandosi di non haver fatto il parentado per altro che per librarsi del suoi inimici." •

‡ Istor. di Suoi Tempi.

§ "Senza saputa del re." J

sacre has been adduced as evidence that, if design existed, he was not a party to it. In the first place, it is recorded of him that he avowed his participation with ribald levity*; and, next, it would be strange indeed if enormous crime were exempt from remorse, or remorse were to be received as evidence that the crime was less enormous.

The question of premeditation, and of the participation of Charles, may be reduced to this: — His reconciliation with Coligny was either dissembled or sincere. If it was sincere, the catholic forgave the heretic, who, with a fanaticism really barbarous, had destroyed or profaned objects to a catholic the most sacred; the king pardoned and loved the rebel who had defeated his armies, endangered his power, and subjected his person to the ignominious flight of Meaux†; and the man thus placably indulgent was Charles IX. ! The consequence is absurd, and the proposition involved in the other branch of the dilemma is the true one.

It may still be admitted that Charles, after private conference with the admiral, manifested sometimes a disposition to burst the trammels in which he was held by his mother, and that the conduct even of Catherine herself was not always consistent with the design entertained by her. But this would prove no more than that the tempestuous imbecility and uncertain humour of the one, and the intriguing vacillations of the other‡, may have prevented an undeviating single-minded pursuit of their design — it would be the weakest of all inferences, that design, therefore, was not pursued or entertained at all. It is not contended that the time, place, and manner were concerted two years beforehand. Nothing more is maintained than that the pa-

* "Après que le roi eut fait la St. Barthélemy, il disait riant, et en jurant Dieu à sa manière accoustumée, et avec des paroles que la pudeur oblige de taire, que sa grosse Margot en se mariant avoit pris tous ses rebelles huguenots à la pipée." — *Mém. de P. l'Est.*

† Brant. Dav. Thuan.

‡ "La régente, qui n'étoit propre qu'à l'intrigue, et toujours lasse de ce qu'elle faisoit, parceque elle faisoit toujours une faute, agit sans principes, essaya cent enterprises sans en suivre aucune, et fut enfin obligée d'obéir aux évènements." — *Mably, Observ. sur l'Hist. de France.*

cification, the Flemish war project, and the marriage covered a treacherous design against the huguenots, and that their extermination was, in pursuance of it, attempted on St. Bartholomew's eve. This conclusion is arrived at in one of the most remarkable essays extant, on the philosophy and the facts of history *; and a trait of light from an intelligence of a superior order, on such a question, is perhaps one of the surest guides.

It is an injustice to charge this crime on the religion of Roman catholics. Fanaticism is not the badge of one church in particular. It is the growth of certain stages of civilisation, and of incidental causes firing the passions and imaginations of men. If the see of Rome and its satellites abused to purposes the most horrible their spiritual dominion over ferocious natures and weak minds, the reformers thought they discovered in the Bible precedents for crime, and threw over assassination a false glare of heroic devotion and glorious tyrannicide. A woman of Munster went out during the siege to repeat the example of Judith upon the besieging bishop; and there are verses still extant, in which the assassin of Francis duke of Guise is extolled as a hero and a saint—another Aod, who had slain the chief of the Moabites and persecutor of God's chosen people. † Fanaticism, moreover, had but an equal, perhaps lesser share, in the massacre of St. Bartholomew with that political morality of the sixteenth century, which warranted expedient dissimulation and profitable crime; and that maxim of the Italian petty tyrants, which it was the purpose of Machiavelli to expose, not inculcate, — that state crime should not be committed by half. ‡

Whatever the number of victims, which is variously stated from 10,000 to 100,000, there still remained above 2,000,000 of huguenots for civil war and vengeance. Charles, therefore, issued what he called an edict of pa-

* “ Il se peut que le temps, le lieu, la manière, le nombre des pros crits, n'eussent pas été concertés pendant deux années, mais il est vrai que le dessein d'exterminer le parti était pris de long-temps.” — *Essai sur les Mœurs*, &c.

† See Mém. de P. l'Etoile, and Mém. de Cast. Add. de Lab.

‡ Mach. Il Fren.

cification, and charged his ambassadors with excuses to foreign courts. At Madrid, indeed, excuse was not necessary, as the massacre was celebrated there with court festivals; and at Rome, the pope and the cardinals returned God thanks, in the church of St. Louis, for this signal instance of divine grace to Christendom and the infant pontificate of Gregory XIII. But the Swiss were too simple and rude to be moved by the rhetoric of Bellèvre*, who said that Charles but acted in self-defence against desperate conspirators. The protestant princes of Germany would not credit the assurance of Schomberg, that hatred of the huguenots did not enter into the motives of the massacre†; and Monluc, bishop of Valence, who was negotiating in Poland the election of the duke of Anjou as king, declared, that unless the court thought proper to publish or to forge an edict in favour of the huguenots, millions could not purchase the suffrages of the Poles.‡

The impression produced in England cannot easily be conceived. To form an idea of it, regard must be had to the existing relations between England and France. A treaty of defensive alliance, without excepting even the case of religion, had been concluded in the preceding April between Charles and Elizabeth at Blois. Marshal Montmorency came over with a brilliant retinue to receive Elizabeth's oath of ratification, according to the usage of the time. It was a characteristic of the age, and a symptom of its demoralisation, that no public and few private acts were deemed complete without the solemnity of an oath. A proposal of marriage between the duke of Anjou and Elizabeth had been the subject of negotiation some time before. It was made with seeming earnestness by the French court, and regarded after the massacre as one of the many contrivances employed to delude the huguenots to their destruction. Elizabeth was equally insincere. She thought to divert the French

* Harangue de M. de Bellèvre—Lettre de M. de Bellèvre au Roi. MSS. Bib. du Roi. See Appendix L.

† Schom. to Charles. MSS. Bib. du Roi.

‡ Mon. to Charles. MSS. Ibid.

court from aiding the partisans of Mary in Scotland, or interposing seriously to procure the freedom of the captive queen. Both sides became weary of dissimulation, and the negotiation was abandoned. Montmorency, during his mission, renewed it without success, but received the order of the garter, as his father the constable had from Henry VIII., and left England on the most friendly terms. The earl of Lincoln, lord high admiral of England, had at the same time gone over, splendidly attended, to France, for the purpose of receiving the oath of Charles IX. A letter from sir T. Smith to Burleigh, containing an account of the ceremonial, gives some curious traits of the character of Charles. Like most hypocrites, he made frequent professions of his candour, and frequent appeals to his heart. Without the self-suspicion, which usually attends hypocrisy, his practice of that vice would have been faultless. The French court, on the arrival of lord Lincoln, had just put on mourning for Jeanne d'Albret, queen of Navarre. Charles suddenly threw aside his sable weeds, and appeared with his whole court in gay apparel to receive the English envoy, declaring, "that though he had cause of grief, (her death, by the way, was most opportune and agreeable to him,) and it was the court usage to mourn for a month, yet he did so rejoice of my lord admiral's coming, and at this amitié, that he could not mourn indeed; and, therefore, he would use no hypocrisy, but dispense himself, and all the others, to show in their apparel the joy they had in their hearts." Having kissed the gospels in the church of St. Germain, he turned round and said, "I pray you, my lord admiral, tell my good sister the queen that I do not swear this oath in words only, but with my whole heart."* The pacification of 1570, between Charles and his protestant subjects, was the basis, declared or implied, of his treaty with Elizabeth; and the St. Bartholomew took place within little more than a month from his oath upon the gospels!

While lord Lincoln remained in Paris, the duke of

* Ellis's Letters illustrative of English History, 2d series, iii. 12.

Alençon, second brother of Charles IX., was proposed, in place of Anjou, as husband to Elizabeth. Admiral Coligny supported his pretensions, and eulogised his character, in such a manner as to bring in question his own penetration or sincerity.* Alençon, greatly inferior to Anjou in capacity and courage, was little less depraved or despicable. Elizabeth appears, however, to have received the mention of Alençon so favourably, as to alarm Leicester. That minion wrote anxiously to lord Lincoln respecting the new suitor,—confining his enquiries, with a lover's jealousy and a courtier's shrewdness, to his rival's person.† The French ambassador, La Mothe-Fénélon, formally proposed the duke of Alençon to Elizabeth at Kenilworth, on the 22d of August. She objected the disparity of their ages, with a faintness which amounted to encouragement. Within a week, news arrived of the massacre, and the French alliance was regarded with execration.

Walsingham was at this time ambassador in France. He had a reputation through Europe for the adroitness with which he recruited spies and obtained secret intelligence. Such was the secrecy with which the French court plotted the massacre of the huguenots, that he had no thought of it until he found himself in the midst of its horrors. His first despatch was brief, and chiefly a vehicle of the explanation given to him by the queen-mother; but even at the first moment, and judging the culprits by their own vindication, his impression appears to have been that the massacre was premeditated and unprovoked. Charles sent over to his ambassador, La Mothe-Fénélon, a statement for the satisfaction of Elizabeth. La Mothe repaired to Woodstock with his credentials, to vindicate the conduct of his master, in a public audience, to the queen. He found the whole court assembled to receive him, clad in mourning, with gloom and sorrow in every countenance. Not a word was uttered, not an eye was turned to him, as he ad-

* Ellis's *Letters illustrative of English History*, 2d series, iii. 3.

† Murdin, 219.

vanced, between two files of lords and ladies, towards the queen.* He repeated, according to his instructions, the hackneyed falsehood that Charles was under the necessity of anticipating by massacre a conspiracy formed by the admiral and the huguenots against his own, the queen-mother's, and his brother's lives; and he engaged for his master to prove this to her satisfaction by a judicial enquiry.

The ambassador met with more favour or less disgust from the queen than from her court. She heard him calmly, and said she hoped Charles would fulfil his pledge of examining into the alleged conspiracy; and if it turned out a chimera, that he would punish the authors of a fabrication so horrible. The ambassador conceived that his vindication had made an impression upon Elizabeth.† It is probable that he flattered or deceived himself. Three letters were addressed to her by Charles, before she wrote him one in reply. "The letter of the queen of England to the king," says Salviati, "is full of displeasure at the execution done upon the huguenots, with whom she pretends an alliance. Her words are gentle and courteous; but it is apprehended that she is about to arm."‡ It would thus seem that the ambassador's opinion was not shared at Paris.

If any impression was made, it did not long endure. Walsingham, in a despatch to the lords of the council, expressed his conviction, "even from the language and subsequent conduct of Charles, that the massacre proceeded from himself; though Elizabeth was otherwise informed by the ambassador."§ — "What warrant," says secretary Smith, in a despatch of the 26th of September to Walsingham, "can the French make now, seals and words of princes being traps to catch innocents, and bring them to butchery?" || — "How," said Burleigh to Walsingham, "reconcile the king's letter, which charges the massacre on the Guises, and the alleged conspiracy to be proved by the trial of the dead admiral?" ¶ — "Considering," says Walsingham, in a despatch of the 24th of Septem-

* *Dépêches de la Mothe-Fénelon*, cited by Carte, *Gen. Hist. of England*.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Digges*.

§ *Copies and Extracts*, by M. de Châteaubriand.

|| *Ibid.*

¶ *Ibid.*

ber to the lords of the council, "how things at present stand, I think less peril to live with them as enemies than as friends." *

There was a vague fear that the massacre would extend to England and Scotland,—as if it were contagious and migratory, like the plague. This panic seized not only the ignorant populace, but the bench of bishops and the lords of the council. Some who spoke of the massacre with most horror were themselves imbued with its spirit. Edwyn Sandys, bishop of London, writing with panting haste from Fulham to lord Burleigh, proposes, for the minister's adoption, a series of sanatory propositions; the first of which was the following:—"Furthwith to CUTTE OF the SCOTTISH QUENE's heade. *Ipsa est nostri fundi calamitas.*" † Walsingham plays with somewhat less fervour than the bishop upon the same string. Writing to secretary Smith respecting the best mode of providing for the queen's safety, he adds,— "There is, sir, as you know, another remedy;" and the context leaves little doubt what that remedy was. ‡ He is more explicit in a letter to Leicester, in which he advises that the Scotch should be bribed,— "for," he says, "money will do any thing with that nation, as your lordship knoweth,"—that England and Scotland be united, and that "certain unsound members be cut off:" for, he adds, "violent diseases will have violent remedies." § The provident Burleigh, in a letter to lord Shrewsbury, the queen of Scots' gaoler, expresses his apprehension that the "flame may reach England and Scotland, for such cruelties have large scopes. God save our gracious queen, who now assembleth her council to consult what is to be done for some surety. We have sent Henry Killigrew this day into Scotland." ||

The secret instructions of Killigrew throw a melancholy light upon the character of Burleigh, and the councils of Elizabeth. The continuance of the queen of

* Digges.

† Ellis, 2d series, iii. 25., printed in capital letters, as copied here.

‡ Digges.

§ Digges, 271.

|| Lodge's Illust. ii. 72.

Scots in England being, these instructions say, dangerous to the person, state, and realm of Elizabeth, the realm must be delivered of her. "And, though justice might be done upon her in England, yet, for certain respects, it seemeth better that she should be delivered to the regent and his party, (who, however, should by some good means be wrought to require it,) that they should give good assurance to proceed with her by way of justice, as they had already many times offered to do; that hostages of good value, that is, some children and kinsfolk of the regent and earl of Morton, should be given for the due fulfilment of this proceeding, by way of justice."* It would have been a curious incident in the anomalous annals of human iniquity, if the queen of Scots, a close prisoner in an English castle, had had "her heade cutte of," because the massacre of his subjects by Charles IX., in Paris, on St. Bartholomew's eve, put a crafty politician and fiery priest in fear.

It is curious, as the matter stands, to observe the malignant passions and strong emotions which the massacre excited, working under an unruffled surface of dissimulation and diplomacy. Charles assured Walsingham that the process of justice instituted against Coligny and his faction would satisfy Elizabeth, by proving their guilt. It would be expected that the English ambassador, at least, insinuated his disapprobation of that justice which first massacred the accused, and then placed the accuser and executioner in judgment upon the dead. His language is widely different:—"If," he says, "by the said process it should appear that they were guilty, none should be more glad of the punishment of them than her majesty, who preferred his (Charles's) safety to any subject of whatever state or religion they be."† The process was instituted: Paris and the provinces were ransacked for evidence of conspiracy. At Lyons, where the provincial carnage had been most dreadful, the governor, Mandelot, who was

* Murdin, 225.

† Digges.

commanded by Charles to search out evidence *, could find none. Briquemaut and Cavagne, friends of Coligny, were dragged from the house of the British ambassador, where they had concealed themselves from the massacrers, and, after a mockery of trial, condemned to death. The dead admiral was condemned to be executed in effigy at the same time. Charles IX. went, with his mother and brothers, to see their execution; dragged the king of Navarre and prince of Condé to witness the dreadful end of two of their most faithful friends; and feasted his own eyes with the dying agonies of the victims by torchlight.†

On the morning of that very day his queen had been delivered of a daughter, her first child. This is but a slight aggravation of barbarity so revolting. It is mentioned only because Elizabeth was invited by Charles to become godmother to his daughter. The whole depth of the guilt of Charles IX. in the massacre was by this time fully known. It was stated by Walsingham, in one of his despatches, that he regarded it as the prelude to an attack upon England.‡ He communicated to Elizabeth rumours of an actual design to invade England and Ireland. Similar rumours most probably reached her from Madrid and Venice. The entire catholic force of Europe, moral and physical, wanted but the occasion to attack her title and existence as a sovereign. Her subjects were clamorous for a war in support of French protestantism. The pulpits, then the great and only rostra of political declamation and passion, echoed with the notes of war. Money was offered in abundance; men were ready to enrol themselves by thousands.§ The protestant states of Germany, the republic of Venice, the insurgent protestants of France and the Low Countries, all would rally round the standard of Elizabeth. She yet preferred peace, precarious as it was, with Charles IX., and accepted the proffered honour of being godmother

* Letters between Charles and Mandelot. MSS. Bib. du Roi.

† Walsingham's letter to secretary Smith. Digges's Pap. Mass. Vit. Car. IX.

‡ Letter of Walsingham in Digges.

§ Camd. An.

to his daughter ; received the envoy De Retz, suspected or known to have been a chief counsellor of the massacre, with the most flattering distinctions ; sent over the earl of Worcester as envoy on the occasion ; and listened to the renewed suit of the duke of Alençon.

Seldom, indeed, has impassive policy obtained such a triumph over natural impulses and the most stirring motives of human action. It is likely, however, that the massacre of St. Bartholomew determined the counsellors of Elizabeth, from that moment, to commit the established state of England, political and religious, with the protestant, against the catholic strength of Europe ; but they deemed the time for drawing the sword not yet come. They adopted a system of temporising management and plausible pretence, which it required the utmost dexterity to carry on ; and there is not, perhaps, an instance of delicate and complicated manœuvres of state executed with such adroitness. Burleigh and Walsingham contrived to obtain the double advantages of the opposite states of peace and war. They assisted the revolted subjects of the French and Spanish crowns, thus preserving and securing future allies ; and they were prepared with explanations and justifications, which those crowns thought it prudent to accept. It seems not improbable that if the St. Bartholomew had exterminated or crushed the huguenots, a combined movement would have been made by the courts of Rome, Spain, and France against the throne and religion of Elizabeth. But for this she was prepared : the chief naval arsenals were put in a state of defence ; the militia of the kingdom was kept in training ; the fleet was well equipped, and stationed in readiness for immediate service ; the people were inspired with confidence by the repayment of sums borrowed on the privy seal ; the exchequer was recruited from the forfeited estates of those who had taken part in the northern rebellion.*

Her most constant, or sole constant, enemy was the pope. But though he retained his pretensions he had

* Camd. An. Carte, Gen. Hist.

declined in authority. The king of Spain was too much exhausted in his finances, by the war of the Low Countries, to attempt the conquest of England. The king of France was too much embarrassed by the two millions of huguenots still on his hands to indulge his zeal for Mary queen of Scots.* Under these circumstances, Elizabeth, or her counsellors for her, seized and held the balance between the king of Spain and the Low Countries, the king of France and the huguenots, and sat as arbitress of Europe, not for a moment, but through a period of years.†

Rochelle and Montauban happily escaped an attempt to occupy them by artifice and surprise at the moment of the massacre. The Vidame de Chartres and Montmorency fled to England. Rochelle was closely besieged and pressed by the duke of Anjou, under the disadvantages of a scarcity of ammunition and food. Montgomery used all his influence and activity to equip in England an armament for the relief of the citadel of his party and religion. The city of London contributed 30,000 crowns, collections and contributions were made in churches and by individuals, and 3000 men enrolled themselves for the relief of Rochelle.‡ The French ambassador, La Mothe, complained of this as an infraction of the treaty between England and France.§ Elizabeth replied, that the expedition was not sanctioned by her; that she had even forbidden, by an order of council, her subjects from engaging to serve the Rochellers; and that the English merchants were obliged to arm for their defence against pirates. As to the collections and contributions of money, she said that she could not believe there was so much money in the city, or that merchants would be so free in lending it without high interest and good security.|| She declared, in fine, that

* Dép. de Fén. cited by Carte, Gen. Hist.

† "Ita Elizabetha quasi arbitra sedebat, ut patris illud insigne merito usurpari potuerit, 'CUI ADHÆREO PREEST,' cum ille diceret Galliam et Hispaniam esse quasi lances in Europæ libra et Angliam lingulam sive libripendem."—*Thuan. Hist.* lib. 64.

‡ Camd. Ann.

. § Dép. de Fén. cited by Carte, Gen. Hist.

|| Ibid.

she faithfully adhered to her treaty with Charles IX. ; and La Mothe was under the necessity of resting satisfied with this strain of evasion and pleasantry, which proved at once her adroitness and strength.

Montgomery left England at the head of the expedition early in April, 1573, failed in his attempts to throw succours into Rochelle, and returned for the purpose of obtaining a reinforcement. This failure inflamed still more the public zeal for the relief of the Rochellers. The bishop of London and the earl of Essex, in the name of the nobility, clergy, and protestant people, remonstrated with Elizabeth for looking on upon the ruin of protestantism in France and the Low Countries. They requested her, at least, to allow her subjects to aid their fellow-protestants at the voluntary cost of the nobility, gentry, and clergy. She refused her permission, but said she should consider what could be done.* La Mothe demanded of her, on the other hand, that Montgomery should be delivered up as a rebel to the king of France. She replied, as she said Henry II., the father of the ambassador's master, had replied to her sister Mary on a similar occasion, — that she would not act as executioner to a foreign prince.†

Montgomery went back with still worse fortune. Having made a descent upon the coast of Normandy, he was defeated and taken prisoner by Matignon, governor of the province, and executed at Paris, to the great joy of Catherine of Medicis, who could not, or pretended she could not, forgive him the death of her husband Henry II., killed by him accidentally in a tournament.

The Rochellers, in spite of famine and disease, still obstinately resisted the siege pressed by the duke of Anjou with an army of 24,000 men. Anjou found, in his election to the throne of Poland, an opportune subterfuge for his reputation, and an excuse for raising the siege. The Rochellers obtained for themselves and the

* Cam. Ann. Carte, Gen. Hist. Eng.

† Ibid.

people of Nismes and Montauban terms of peace, which were signed on the 24th of June.

The marriage of Elizabeth and the duke of Alençon was still in train, with somewhat more sincerity than that of the queen and Anjou. Each party, however, charged the other with bad faith. Walsingham pronounced it "an abuse except on the young prince's part*;" and the queen-mother, on her side, charged dissimulation and coquetry upon Elizabeth. † The duke of Alençon, assisting at the siege of Rochelle, addressed letters of love and fidelity to the queen of England, whom he had not yet beheld, sent her his picture, and requested her permission to visit her. The queen-mother added her solicitations in favour of her son, and Elizabeth was wearied out of her consent. ‡ With, however, the usual fluctuations of policy or caprice which distinguished all her courtships, she "lovingly advised" him not to come until he had first atoned for dyeing his sword in the blood of the Rochellers, and secured a good reception in England, by some notable testimony of his affection to the protestants of France. §

His voyage, without this admonition, would have been stayed by another cause. A new party, called "The Politicians," composed of both catholics and protestants, and chiefly guided by the Montmorencies, had grown up in France. It was directed against the queen-mother. The health of Charles IX. was giving way, and his brother next in succession was in Poland. Catherine suspected the politicians of a design to oust her of all influence, by taking advantage of the absence of Anjou, her favourite son, and placing the crown on the head of the duke of Alençon. The king of Navarre and the duke of Alençon were prisoners at court; and a premature attempt of their friends to favour their escape failed. Catherine elicited from the incapacity and cowardice of Alençon, and the weakness of Henry of Navarre||,—both of whom, as is usual, says Davila, shifted the guilt from

* Digges.

† Cam. Ann.

‡ Dav. Ist. del Guer. Civ.

† Mém. de Cast.

§ Ibid.

themselves to their defenceless subalterns,— enough to ground a conspiracy, and execute Mole and Conconas, two servants of Alençon.

Both princes continued prisoners, until the death of Charles IX. and return of Henry III. from Poland led to their release. Charles IX. died of a strange disease, which was pronounced a visitation of God upon his love of bloodshed. His body wasted, and his life waned from a general effusion of his blood at every pore: he died, drenched in his bed with his own gore, in the agonies of disease and the tortures of remorse.* His death took place on the 30th of May, 1574; and his obsequies were celebrated with great magnificence on the 8th of August, at St. Paul's, London, where lord Burleigh attended the ceremonial as representative of the queen.†

Henry III., upon being informed of his brother's death, took flight secretly, lest the violent affection of his subjects should detain him in Poland. This infatuation of a people for a despicable unit of their species is not without example; but the most pitiable would have been (if it existed) that of the Poles for Henry III. Lord North was sent to France by Elizabeth to congratulate him on his succession, renew the treaty which had been concluded with his brother, obtain from him the liberty of the duke of Alençon and king of Navarre, and recommend to him a liberal treatment of the protestants of France. "If," says a private memorial, containing lord North's instructions ‡, "it be thought that there can be no quiet where diversity of religion is permitted, you may put him in minde to resorte to his own experience, and to behold in the state of the empire, in the kingdom of Poland, and the hereditary dominions of the emperor, through which he hath of late himself passed, the example of the quiet and peaceable govern-

* "Durant l'excès de ses douleurs, et lorsque il se voyait tout baigné de son sang dans son lit, il tesmoigna nul plus grand regret que d'avoir répandu celui des innocents le 24th Aug. 1572."—*Sully, Econ. Roy.*

† Carte, Gen. Hist. Eng.

‡ MS. State Paper Office.

ment of the said countries, which we trust will serve to persuade him that the permission of diversity of religion breedeth not the unquietness that is pretended. And if he object the manner of government and policy within this our realm, where we permit but one exercise of religion, although there be of our subjects which be as well addicted to the one as to the other, you may say then, that the same is established by the common consent of the three estates of the whole realm in parliament; and that in case the said parliament had thought the permission of both religions necessary, and that the same had been established with our regal consent, we should never for any respect of ourselves have violated the same." The retort had been anticipated, and the same answer supplied in the instructions of Walsingham, when he went over as ambassador to the French court. Upon his urging the queen-mother to grant liberty of conscience to the huguenots, she answered, that his own mistress denied it to the catholics; and he rejoined, that his mistress "did never promise them any thing by edict." There is a tone of arrogant inconsistency in Elizabeth's instructions to her ambassadors respecting religious toleration in other countries. Refusing the exercise of their worship to the Roman catholics, she was in a false position when she demanded freedom for the protestants of France. She was sensible of this, and made anticipated battle by a cavil rather than by a reason. A wrong is not justified by the absence of a promise to do right; and an ordinance of the estates of the realm, had they been as independent as they were enslaved or powerless, would not consecrate persecution. Her only justification was one which she would not avow, viz. that the protestants of France did not question the king's title; whereas the catholics of England repudiated her as a heretic, bastard, and usurper. It would have been impolitic and humiliating to admit this only ground upon which she could vindicate herself.

Lord North appears to have been received by Henry III.

with impertinence and presumption. Dale, who succeeded Walsingham as ambassador, says, he overheard the king talk to Mongeron and the admiral of France, "with a flouting countenance," of "the queen of England as a creature not so dangerous as she was deemed;" "and what confirmeth," he adds, "this kind of contempt is, that he made no mention at all of the renewing of the league in any of their audiences."* He, however, did confirm the league, but made little account of the advice to give peace to his kingdom by allowing freedom of conscience to the huguenots; and he soon found that Elizabeth was a creature not less dangerous than she was deemed.

Henry III., on his return, found France exhausted by the exactions and prodigality of the court, and torn by civil war. He stood between two factions, — the huguenots, who were in arms, and the Guises, who ruled the court, — both equally abhorred by him. The advice of Elizabeth might have saved him. He desired to be informed by her whether she considered that the article of "mutual defence against all men" included "the case of religion," — was answered in the affirmative, and made war upon the huguenots.† The prince of Condé had fled some time before from the court to Germany, where he resumed the profession of the protestant faith, and solicited aid against the court of France. Henry of Navarre, taking advantage of a hunting party, escaped from his captivity, avowed himself a huguenot as soon as he found himself safe and free, and joined his arms with those of his religion who were already in the field. If the two princes conformed, it should be remembered that princes rarely construe religion so strictly as to become martyrs to it; and if they relapsed, it was hardly to be expected that religious convictions produced by Charles IX. and the St. Bartholomew should endure. The duke of Alençon, disappointed of the succession to the throne of Poland, and actuated by vindictive discontent ‡, escaped from the court under cover of an affair of

* MS. State Paper Office.

† Cam. Ann.

‡ Dav. Ist. l. 5.

gallantry, joined the insurgent malecontents, published a manifesto against his brother, and was flattered with the title of captain-general.

Henry, one of the most indolent and incapable of men in every situation but the camp and the field, had military activity and personal courage, and might subdue the huguenots if they received no aid from abroad. Elizabeth advanced money to defray the charge of a body of Germans marched by Casimir, son of the elector palatine, into France, and thus decided the contest against Henry. He was reduced not only to the necessity of granting humiliating terms to the huguenots, but to the ignominy of paying the very Germans who had reduced him to this extremity.* Thus dexterously did Elizabeth hold the balance between the king of France and his protestant subjects. She performed the same part, with the same adroitness and success, between the king of Spain and his revolted subjects in the Low Countries.

It has been observed, that if the illustrious and long flourishing republic of the united provinces erected statues to the authors of its liberty, the first would be due to cardinal Granvelle, whose tyrannical principles provoked the spirit of resistance, and the second to the duke of Alva, who attempted to carry Granvelle's principles into effect.† The third place might be fairly claimed for the queen of England; and it would be the place of honour. The system of management and moderation pursued by Elizabeth with the Netherlands, where the game was more difficult, and the temptation to ambition greater, manifested still more skill and prudence than she had displayed with France. She saved and sustained the spirit of resistance when it was sinking; she checked its violence when it would tempt the hazards of desperation; she relaxed at critical moments the pressure of the Spanish power, by appearing to favour the pretensions of the king of Spain, and a re-

* *Essai sur les Mœurs.*

† *Lab. add. Mém. de Cast.*

turn to obedience; she declined the sovereignty of the revolted provinces when offered for herself, and prevented the prince of Orange from throwing his country into the arms of France. When the proper time at last came, she took the decisive counsel to which she had long looked, committed herself with the cause of liberty, turned the scale, and severed for ever the bond between Spain and the Low Countries.

The prince of Orange, with all his phlegm and fortitude, was struck with momentary consternation by the Parisian massacre.* His brother, count Louis of Nassau, felt it still more deeply, because he had a share in persuading Coligny to trust the faith of Charles IX.† Unable to relieve his brother, who was besieged in Mons, or bring Alva to an engagement, which it was the purpose of the latter to avoid, the prince returned into Holland, and count Louis surrendered upon honourable terms of capitulation. The fates of nations are too frequently supposed to depend upon one individual life. It may be said, however, that the liberty of Holland depended at this moment upon the life of the prince of Orange. He had a remarkable escape in his retreat from before Mons: a party of Spaniards pursued him in the night, entered his camp, and had nearly reached his tent, when a spaniel lying on his bed‡ gave the alarm by barking violently, and scratching his face to awake him.§

The duke of Alva pursued his career of devastation in Flanders and Brabant, whilst, at the same time, the prince of Orange rallied the spirits of the people, and appeared in a position of resistance in Holland.¶ Philip II., commanding carnage and extermination from the distance and security of his cabinet, was jealous of the disastrous celebrity acquired by the instruments of his inhuman decrees. It was suggested to him that the name of Alva in Europe eclipsed his own, and the jealous tyrant recalled the destroyer and his son. His reception by Philip was looked for through Europe

* Strad. Dec. 1. lib. 7.

† Catilla quæ eodem lecto cubabat. — *Strad. de Bel. Belg.*

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid.

with curiosity. Whether from congenial cruelty, or the ascendant of Alva over even Philip, he was received without censure or praise. He and his son were subsequently consigned to imprisonment and chains; but it was the punishment of a private offence, committed by the son in debauching, and at the instigation of his father deserting, a young lady of high rank,—not of the cruelties which had been committed by them during six years in the Low Countries. The choice of a successor would imply that even Philip despaired of success by extermination. Zuniga de Requesens, commander of Castile, assumed the government of the Low Countries on the 2d of December, 1573.

The new governor began by acts of conciliation and deceit. His first object was to manifest the opposition between Alva's government and his own. Alva had erected at Antwerp a statue of himself, with an inscription describing him as the vanquisher of rebellion, asserter of justice, and pacificator of the provinces. It was removed by order of Requesens. He dissolved the councils, and dismissed the instruments which constituted Alva's machinery of pillage and bloodshed, and published a general amnesty. The new governor, at the same time, despatched an envoy to Elizabeth, to assure her of his disposition to continue and improve the good understanding between the two courts. Letters couched in the same style were addressed to her by Philip.* Commercial intercourse, after a suspension of four years, had been re-opened shortly before the departure of the duke of Alva. Elizabeth practised, without scruple, diplomatic evasion and sophistry; but no one knew better the value of fidelity to her express engagements. Commissioners had been appointed, on the part of the British government and the duke of Alva, to settle the amount of mutual reparation for seized property. She faithfully reimbursed the English owners out of the sum placed in her hands; whilst the Flemings

* Carte, Gen. Hist. b. 18.

received not a farthing from Alva or Philip of the sum which she had paid over to them.

The relations betwixt Elizabeth and Philip, amicable, apparently, were governed by secret hatred and distrust. She gave Requesens an assurance of her friendly disposition; but at the same time fitted out a fleet of twenty-five sail, under the apprehension that a Spanish fleet, which had left St. Andero to invest Brille, might be destined for the invasion of some part of her dominions.* This proving a false alarm, Dr. Wilson, a lawyer, was sent to negotiate with Requesens the complete re-establishment of English commerce with Antwerp, as yet the only great emporium of the provinces. He returned, after having fully succeeded in his object.

The amnesty of the king of Spain was rejected by the states; and Requesens, after three months' negotiation, turned his mind to the employment of force. Alva, inexperienced in maritime war, was afraid of compromising his reputation, and had applied himself wholly to operations on land.† His successor saw the impossibility of reducing Holland, Zealand, and the prince of Orange, without a naval force superior to that of the states. He began by equipping a fleet at Antwerp. It was soon disabled by the infant navy of the provinces. The fleet which had been sent to him from Spain was wrecked in the winter storms off Dunkirk. Requesens, in his distress, applied to Elizabeth for leave to obtain ships and men in England. The application could not have been seriously intended, and covered some secret design. It may have been meant for a test of the professions made by her of amity to the king of Spain. Elizabeth answered the commander's request by issuing a public order, strictly forbidding her subjects to arm ships without her licence, or enter the naval service of any foreign prince. Requesens next solicited that the Low Country rebels, who had taken refuge in England, should be banished the kingdom. This request, too, was refused, and in a tone approach-

* Cam. Ann.

† Grot. Ann. l. ii.

ing to sarcasm. She observed to him that her acceding to a similar request had lost Brille to the king of Spain two years before ; and reminded him that the earl of Westmoreland and other fugitives were received in the Low Countries.* The Spanish governor upon this sent away the earl of Westmoreland, and dissolved a college of seminary priests at Douay. Westmoreland had ceased to be an object of fear ; and the terror entertained by Elizabeth and her counsellors of seminary priests, even beyond the sea, would excite a smile, if the severities exercised upon them in England were not melancholy proofs of the manner in which reason can be blinded and humanity extinguished by fear, rancour, and intolerance. Elizabeth, on her side, met these concessions by others equally futile in effect. She issued a proclamation against the continued residence in England of such as had borne arms in the Low Countries against the king of Spain, yet overlooked those who chose to remain ; and closed her ports against the prince of Orange and other chiefs expressly named, yet received, soon after, with honour, one of the most conspicuous of those named, the count de St. Aldegonde.

The naval successes of the Dutch, which had liberated and secured Holland and Zealand, were counterbalanced by a disastrous battle on land, in the province of Guelders. Count Louis of Nassau, on his way to join his brother the prince of Orange, was attacked by Davila, one of the lieutenants of Requesens, near Nimeguen. The defeat of the Netherlanders was complete. Three princes,—Louis and Henry, brothers of the prince of Orange, and Christopher, son of the elector palatine,—were slain. The prince of Orange now stood alone of his father's house to avenge his family, and liberate his country. His situation was melancholy, but inspiring and glorious, and he was worthy of it. The fate of count Louis is ascribed to the misconduct of his troops, who, on the eve of battle, demanded their pay†; and this spirit of avarice and mutiny passed from the van-

* Cam. Ann.

† Grot. Ann. lib. ii.

quished to the victors. The Spanish troops clamoured for "the price of their blood*," threw aside all discipline, directed their fury upon Antwerp, and extorted 40,000 florins from the citizens. Requesens, glad to obtain money by any means, overlooked the mutiny, and sanctioned the pillage of his troops.†

The king of Spain, after a desolating contest of eight years, without any appearance of his being able to terminate it by force, seemed intent as ever upon prosecuting the war. The deluge of human blood which had been shed could hardly be calculated, and, doubtless, little affected the calculations of Philip: but he found that he had expended 42,000,000 Spanish ducats‡, besides his exactions from the provinces which obeyed him; and he listened to suggestions of peace under the auspices of the emperor. A conference took place at Broda. On the part of the prince of Orange and the states, it was demanded that the foreign troops — that is, Philip's army — should be removed, and that assurance should be given for the political privileges and religious conscience of the people. The representatives of Philip would hear of nothing short of unconditional submission, and the proscription of Calvinism. "Was so great a king," said they, "to be denied that authority over the religion of his subjects which was arrogated by every petty German prince?"§ The conference broke up, and the confederate provinces returned to that last appeal (to the sword), between nations and their rulers which publicists call the appeal to Heaven.

The siege of Leyden is among the most memorable examples of what human resolution, with the love of those abstractions — liberty and country — on the one side, the patient energy and devotion of the camp on the other, can endure and achieve. Why are manifestations so sublime of the capacity of man, combined with all that is most revolting in savageness and fury! The heart of a Spanish prisoner was torn and devoured by

* Grot. Ann. lib. ii.
† Carte Gen. Hist. b. 18.

‡ Ibid.
§ Grot. Ann. lib. ii.

a Dutch sailor.* Cut off from all communication by human enterprise, the prince of Orange and the besieged communicated by means of pigeons, which it was recollected were so employed in Asia. † Relief and safety came at last. The sluices were raised, the dykes were cut in the surrounding country, and not only the rivers but the sea itself flowed in upon the Spaniards. With a courage more than human, and as if endowed with more than giant force, the besiegers attempted to withstand and divert the overwhelming inundation. ‡ A favourable wind and spring tide conspired with the agency of man, and thousands of vessels bore food and life to the Leydeners over the camp works of the Spaniards, and the drowned bodies of 1000 of them.§

A detachment of Spaniards, wading at low water across an arm of the sea two leagues broad, under a constant fire from the Zealand gun-boats, reached the little island of Schawen, and besieged and ultimately took the town of Zuriczee. Thus balanced and dreadful was the struggle.

Not only the states, but the prince of Orange, began at last to despair of their cause without the protection of a foreign power. There were but three states capable of affording it, — Germany, France, and England. Community of religion, the empire of the sea, and the descent of Elizabeth from Philippa, queen of Edward III., and daughter of a count of Hainault, decided in her favour. || St. Aldegonde, who possessed the entire confidence of the prince of Orange, with other deputies, came over and offered her the sovereignty. Requesens at the same time sent over Perrenot, brother of cardinal Granvelle, to counteract the mission of the states. The position of Elizabeth was critical in the extreme. She was not yet prepared for war with Spain; whilst the temptation to her ambition, and the certainty that on

* Grot. Ann. lib. ii.

† Ibid.

‡ Strad. de Bell. Belg. dec. 1. lib. viii. Voltaire, Hist. Gen.

§ Strad. de Bell. Belg. lib. viii.

|| Grot. Ann. lib. ii.

her refusal the offer would be made to the king of France, operated on the other side. The envoy of Requesens, finding the deputation of the states headed by St. Aldegonde, one of the very persons proscribed by name from her ports by Elizabeth, could have little doubt how her inclination lay. Upon his complaining of the reception of a man whom she had expressly excluded, she answered, "that he came over as a deputy to give her an account of the conference of Breda, and she was obliged, therefore, to receive him with courtesy." She reiterated once more her assurance that she should still faithfully adhere to the league of Burgundy, which bound England and Spain to abstain mutually from aiding or protecting those whom they respectively considered rebels to their authority. This league seemed made only to be evaded or infringed. It was the constant study of the lives of both parties to violate, whilst they had the air of respecting it. Never were the courts of Elizabeth and Philip without fugitive malecontents plotting mischief against their respective sovereigns. Yet did it, by a curious destiny in the history of treaties, last longer than many leagues much more honestly entered into, and more faithfully observed.

The deputies of the states were less easily satisfied than the envoy of Requesens. They demanded an immediate and explicit answer, in order that, if she refused, they should apply to the king of France. This touched the right chord. Elizabeth had anticipated, and was prepared for it. She had already sent sir H. Cobham to Spain to press upon Philip the expediency of making peace, in order to prevent the states from throwing themselves into the arms of France; and she despatched a special envoy to divert the prince of Orange from seeking the protection of Henry III., to which he had a manifest inclination. Thus prepared, she declined the proffered sovereignty; but gave the deputies hopes of her mediating peace with Philip, intimated that they might expect succour from her if peace could not be obtained, deprecated especially their placing them-

selves under the protection of France, and privately supplied them with a sum of money.*

Requesens, without cruelty or oppression, was operating with great activity against the states: his chief aim was to dislodge the prince of Orange from Zeeland. Philip showed no disposition to make peace, though he received the suggestion without offence. Elizabeth was threatened with the necessity either of declaring herself openly, or of seeing the states crushed by Spain or annexed to France. A fortunate event rescued the Netherlands from peril, and allowed her to re-adjust herself in her position as a balancing power. A pestilential fever, or, according to some writers, the plague itself, made some atonement for its ravages in the states, by carrying off the Spanish governor, on the 5th of March, 1576. His death was so sudden that he appointed no successor, as he was warranted to do: the officers who served immediately under him knew Philip too well to presume beyond their express commissions, even for his service; and the Low Countries were rescued from almost certain subjugation. The council of state assumed the powers of government. Disorders the most dreadful immediately followed. The troops which Requesens employed to make the conquest of Zeeland mutinied for their pay, made an irruption into Brabant, plundered some villages, and seized on Antwerp. The spirit of revolt and plunder extended to the whole of Philip's forces in the provinces. They dismissed their officers, abandoned their garrisons or occupied them as rebels, and were declared by the council enemies and traitors. The mutineers rendezvoused at Alost, and spread pillage and slaughter with wanton or infuriate cruelty. In the growing town of Maestricht, and especially in the flourishing town of Antwerp, property was pillaged, buildings were destroyed, and the inhabitants were massacred, to a lamentable extent. The states of Brabant, Flanders, and Hainault raised troops to quell the mutineers; and called to their aid

* Grot. Ann. lib. ii.

the provinces of Holland and Zealand, and the prince of Orange. In this dreadful state of disorder and anomaly, Philip, who had no alternative, confirmed the authority of the council, until the arrival of don John of Austria, his natural brother, whom he had appointed successor to Requesens.

Order and ultimate liberty grew out of this confusion. The states, — those which had resisted as well as those which obeyed Philip, — were brought into communication for their common defence against several thousand miscreants, organised and armed only for pillage and bloodshed. Negotiations had been begun, and an understanding, if not a treaty, had been agreed upon at Breda after the failure of the conference with the authorities of Philip. A meeting of the states assembled at Ghent, deliberated under the protection of the prince of Orange whilst the citadel was occupied by the mutincers, assumed as the basis of their deliberations the understanding or compact of Breda, and concluded, on the 8th of November, 1576, the treaty called the Pacification of Ghent. Philip's authority was allowed; but this was the first great step in the progress of union and independence. The contracting parties were the states of Brabant, Hainault, Flanders, on the one side, and the states of Holland and Zealand on the other.

It is not uninteresting to pause for a moment upon the destiny of these respective parties. The revolution first began in the richer and larger provinces of Brabant, Hainault, and Flanders; whilst the poor and petty provinces of Holland and Zealand, struggling for their existence with penury and the surrounding waters, were hardly thought of by Philip. Yet was it from these that the prince of Orange ventured out, to make head against Alva and the Spanish power. In the assembly of Ghent they already played the leading part; and whilst Brabant, Flanders, and Hainault relapsed into slavery, Holland and Zealand grew from a small community of fishermen into an illustrious republic, disputing the wealth of Europe and Asia with Philip II.

and his successors. The cause may be stated, though it cannot be developed within the limits of these pages. It was the prevalence, in those larger and richer provinces, of a race of nobles, which, knowing no country but its caste, no cause but its selfish jealousy and grovelling ambition, thwarted the prince of Orange in his career by such measures as calling in an archduke Matthias and a duke of Alençon.

The sovereign authority of the king of Spain was still acknowledged in the pacification of Ghent. But the states bound themselves to the defence of their privileges, the expulsion of foreign soldiers from the Low Countries, and the holding of a meeting of the states-general of the provinces for a permanent settlement of their affairs. It would appear extraordinary that this treaty should be approved by Philip, if his dissimulation, his cruelty, and his instructions to John of Austria, the new governor, were not known. The league of Ghent was confirmed with his oath by don John at Brussels. The states had already subdued the mutineers, completely cleared Holland and Zealand of the Spaniards, and nearly reduced the other provinces to obedience and union. The prospects of the Netherlanders were most auspicious. "But the source of all evil," says Grotius, "still remained, in the jealous ambition of the nobles, and that other not dissimilar vice, the blind zeal of the common people for their religion; both of which, whilst they exist, will supply strength to factions, and instruments to be used against freedom."*

Tranquillity and union were thus nearly restored, when don John of Austria arrived, on the 4th of November. This famous captain was well qualified for a gallant battle or a dashing expedition, but ill suited for a governor of the Low Countries. The very mode in which he travelled would imply his unfitness for a situation which required steady character and deliberative prudence. Haunted still by the images of his abortive project of a crown at Tunis, he travelled with

* Grot. Ann. lib. ii.

his face blackened, and his hair curled as an African, until he arrived at Luxemburgh.* The states hesitated whether they should receive the new governor, and consulted the prince of Orange. His earnest advice was, that they should not receive him, until he had first confirmed with his oath the pacification of Ghent, and removed the army of Philip. Don John, instructed by Philip to concede every thing, gain the common people, then turn upon the states, and punish their rebellion, ordered the Spaniards to move towards and beyond the frontier; and was received as governor. But, with the impetuosity of his character and youth, he soon discovered his real intentions, and the states took the alarm. His designs were fully exposed by his letters, intercepted in Guienne by the king of Navarre, and forwarded by him to the prince of Orange, who communicated them to the states. They disclosed his project not only for subduing the Netherlands, but conquering England, and marrying after liberating the queen of Scots, — with which the prince of Orange hastened to acquaint Elizabeth.

At this moment a difference respecting the seizure of vessels had arisen between Elizabeth and the states. It was soon arranged by the prince; and Elizabeth used all her activity and address to rescue the states, yet avoid war. She sent sir J. Smith as envoy to the king of Spain to urge him to peace; declaring that if he did not withdraw his troops, she must aid the states in maintaining their privileges, in order to prevent their annexation to France. In reply to the mission of the states which came to solicit her aid, she declared that, upon their engaging not to call in the French, and not reject fair terms if proposed, she would openly aid them in vindicating their religion and privileges, and expelling the Spanish troops. The states asked a loan of 100,000*l.*: she gave them 20,000*l.* and promised the remainder. Don John used evasion and delay, but prepared for surprise upon the states, with the more eagerness, that the pacification of the Netherlands was but a step towards his grand project. Elizabeth

* Strad. de Bell. Belg. dec. 1. lib. ix.

was well acquainted, even before the information conveyed to her by the prince of Orange, with the wild project of Don John. He had concerted with the pope, without making it known to Philip*, that, after subduing revolt in the Low Countries, he should rescue and espouse Mary queen of Scots, conquer for himself and her the crown of England, and restore the religious authority of the see of Rome. It appeared by the intercepted letters of don John, communicated by the prince of Orange, that he even pressed Philip to begin with England as the easier conquest. The disclosure of the letters unmasked his perfidy. He seized by stratagem and surprise the citadel of Namur, but failed to gain possession of Antwerp and Mons. The states declared him a public enemy, and sent envoys to France, Portugal, Germany, and England, representing his breach of faith.

Davison was the queen's envoy in the provinces. He advised her in the most sanguine manner to espouse openly the cause of the states. Henry III., he said, was negotiating "to send them the duke of Alençon, with *carte blanche*." He entreated her to anticipate him. The states, he said, were disinclined to the French; immediate aid would secure their gratitude to her, and probably induce the king of Spain to accept the pacification of Ghent. The people, he added, united, desperate, protected by the nature of the country, and the strength of their towns, were unconquerable; and war, if it came, would be a school for training, in the Low Countries, her subjects for the defence of England. He above all urged that her support should be open and immediate.† Elizabeth did not act upon the advice of an envoy, warmed, perhaps, by his immediate contact and sympathy with brave men, whose hopes and lives were embarked in a generous cause. She, however, again urged Philip to peace, with a declaration amounting to menace, that she was prepared to enforce her counsel; and threatened the states at the same time with the

* Strad. de Bell. Belg. dec. 1. lib. ix.

† MS. State Paper Office.

oss of her friendship, if they showed themselves indisposed to accept reasonable terms.

It is hardly conceivable, that such men as Burleigh and Walsingham thought a return to obedience possible in the Low Countries. Nothing remained for the latter at this stage but independence or extermination. A people or an individual, having drawn the rebel sword against the sovereign, is lost, without at the same time throwing away the scabbard. The supposition that between such parties reconciliation might be sincere was entertained by Coligny, and proved fatal to him.

The states had not yet proclaimed independence ; but when they denounced the lieutenant and brother of Philip a public enemy, they became independent in fact, though not in name. Elizabeth spoke with horror of the disobedience of subjects to their sovereign, even while she was aiding the confederate provinces of the Low Countries, and the armed huguenots of France. It is not unlikely that the thin veil of fealty to the king of Spain was still worn, to afford a pretence for her scruples or her sophistry.

Towards the close of 1577, events thickened. John of Austria having left Brussels, William of Orange, whose authority was hitherto chiefly confined to Holland and Zealand, was declared by the states governor of Brabant. This appointment, which appeared so auspicious for the states, proved useful only to Philip. The nobles of Brabant, jealous of the prince,—the people animated by a blind zeal for the catholic religion ;—in short, those two foes to liberty, of which Grotius* complains more than once in his annals and history of this memorable war—the factious selfishness of the aristocracy, and the religious passions of the people,—called in a boy, the archduke Matthias, brother of the emperor Rodolph, and made him governor, with the mockery of a reservation until Philip should otherwise ordain. The arch-

* “ Mihi hæc altius repetenti certissima malorum origo videtur, procerum emulatrix ambitio et huic non dissimile populi vitium, abruptus suæ religionis amor. Hæc dum manent nec partes unquam desunt nec instrumenta in libertatem.”—*Grot. Ann.* lib. ii.

duke fled secretly to the Low Countries from the court of his brother, who protested ignorance and disapprobation. It was suspected, however, that the emperor was cognisant of the escape, and that his object was to transfer the Netherlands from the dominions of the Spanish to that of the Austrian branch of their common family.* When the archduke arrived, the states hesitated to appoint him. The prince of Orange, with an equal superiority of virtue and intelligence, advised the appointment of a rival placed above him, accepted the office of lieutenant-general of Matthias, and continued to sustain the destinies of his country. Don John, with all his activity and eagerness, still held back. Afraid to attack with the disorganised rabble of mutineers which he found in the Netherlands, he awaited a reinforcement of Italians under Alexander Farnese, the celebrated prince of Parma. The states prepared for him by concentrating their troops, and demolishing, upon the advice of the prince of Orange †, the citadels of Ghent and Antwerp. The triumphal statue of Alva, which Requesens had taken down, was found in the citadel of the latter town. It provoked anew the popular fury. "The people," says Strada, "cut and hacked it with the sword and the axe, and enjoyed the imaginary slaughter, as if every blow inflicted pain and drew blood." ‡

It was not till the 7th of January, 1578, that Elizabeth finally concluded an alliance with the states—decided at last by the footing obtained in the Netherlands by the archduke, the intrigues of the duke of Alençon to supplant or participate in the government with him, and, according to Grotius, by the designs of John of Austria against England.§ The treaty, offensive and defensive, provided that the queen should lend the states 100,000*l.*, and assist them with 5000

* Strad. de Bell. Belg. dec. 1. lib. ix.

† Ibid.

‡ "Ferro instant, securibus sæviunt, et tanquam ad singulos ictus dolorem incuterent ac sanguinem elcerent imaginaria illa cæde furebantur."

—Strad. dec. 1. lib. ix.

§ Grot. Ann. lib. iii.

foot and 1000 horse, to be paid by them; that the commander-in-chief of these auxiliaries should have a seat in the council; and that the states should enter into no engagements, and perform no important public act, without her previous approbation. The states, on their side, were bound to give the queen, if attacked, corresponding aid by sea and land.

It is a strong proof of her formidable power and character, that this decisive step did not precipitate hostilities with Spain. Upon the conclusion of that alliance, she immediately despatched Wilkes, clerk of the council, to notify it to Philip. Wilkes was instructed to tell him that the alliance was based upon obedience and fealty to him, the privileges of the states being secured to them; that her object was to prevent the aggrandisement of France, by the annexation of the Low Countries; that it depended upon Philip whether he would or not secure their obedience on such reasonable conditions; and that if, instead of doing so, he kept up foreign troops, in violation of the privileges of the states, she must conclude that he really entertained the design of attacking England.* Philip, informed in the mean time of a victory gained by the young prince of Parma over the army of the states at Gembloux, resolved to prosecute the war, and dismissed Wilkes with civil hatred. The envoy next endeavoured to obtain the consent of don John to a suspension of arms. But he, like Philip, was too much elated by victory to consent, and suspected that the object of Elizabeth was to gain time for the states to rally.† Money was the great want of the states, and they requested of Elizabeth a pecuniary commutation of the aid which she had stipulated in troops. She accordingly remitted a sum of money to Casimir, brother of the elector palatine, who proceeded as her lieutenant with 12,000 Germans to the Low Countries.

The Walloon provinces objected to the religion of the German prince, and required that the supreme command should be given to the duke of Anjou, hither-

* Carte, Gen. Hist. b. 18.

† Strad. dec. 1. lib. ix.

to known as the duke of Alençon. Elizabeth suspected that this was the result of an intrigue to place the Netherlands under the dominion of France, and despatched sir Edward Stafford to the court of France for the purpose of obtaining explanations or penetrating the intrigue. It is necessary, at this moment, to cast a retrospective glance over the situation of Henry III.

This prince, on his return from Poland, began a war of persecution, and concluded it by an ignominious peace with his own subjects, within the year (1575). He next abandoned himself to grovelling practices of devotion, combined with infamous debaucheries. It has been stated, that this scandalous life covered a secret design to exterminate the Guises by a repetition of the St. Bartholomew.* This, however, appears a speculation too refined. It seems more probable that he yielded to his innate baseness and depravity. If he intended his devotions to catch the favour of the populace, he wholly failed. A king marching barefooted in a procession of monks, with a monk's cowl, and calling himself brother Henry, became an object of contempt.†

Henry duke of Guise would have acquired, if he did not inherit, the chieftancy of the catholic party in France. He combined the nobleness and gallantry of person and demeanour, which gained his father all hearts, with an ambition more artful and insatiable. Nature and discipline had formed him for the chief of a faction. The utter contempt into which Henry III. had fallen, and the blind fury of the catholics when their religious passions were played upon, afforded full scope for Guise's qualifications and aspirings. The toleration of protestants under the last pacification, was clamoured against as an outrage to true religion and to God. Guise raised that hypocritical cry, by which faction makes a tool of religious credulity and the populace, that the church was in danger; declared himself its champion; signed and swore a covenant, called the Holy

* Davil. Stor. del Guer. Civ. lib. vi.

† Thuan. Hist. lib. lix.

League, for the defence of the catholic religion, drawn up by his uncle the cardinal of Lorraine ; and had it signed and sworn by catholics of all ranks and conditions in Paris and the provinces. The pope and king of Spain protected the leaguers, and nothing remained to the wretched Henry, who was, in fact, dethroned by Guise, but to place himself at the head of the faction, assemble the states at Blois, and revoke the freedom of conscience granted to the huguenots. The consequence was civil war, without, on his part, troops or money to carry it on. But he was a mere instrument in the hands of the Guises and the league. These involved him in the ninth civil war which afflicted France since the death of his eldest brother, Francis II.

Upon the arrival of Casimir as lieutenant of Elizabeth, with his German troops, in the Low Countries, the Walloon provinces objected to him as a protestant, and demanded that the duke of Anjou should be called in. The news alarmed Elizabeth : she immediately sent sir Edward Stafford, as already stated, to the court of France. Henry III. declared to the envoy, and through his ambassador Mauvissière (Castelnau), who had succeeded La Mothe, to Elizabeth, that he knew nothing of the expedition of his brother to the Low Countries, and that he was himself too much engaged at home to meddle with the affairs of his neighbours. This assertion is so frequently repeated in his private despatches to Castelnau*, that it can hardly be questioned. His dislike of Anjou is equally apparent. It seems doubtful whether the invitation to Anjou was suggested in France or the Low Countries ; but the probability is, that it was a scheme of Catherine of Medicis, who wished to relieve Henry of a brother whom he regarded with suspicious aversion, and provide a state for the duke of Anjou.† Elizabeth was satisfied, and the negotiation of marriage between her and Anjou was renewed. The first suggestion is said, in Camden's annals, to have come from France ; but it is obvious, from the cor-

* *Mém. de Cast. iii. ad finem.*

† Davila, lib. vi.

respondence of Castelnau with Henry and the queen-mother*, that the renewal originated with Elizabeth, and that it was received with great suspicion of its good faith. Her motive may have been that assigned to her by De Thou,—that she overcame her disinclination to marriage in order to have Anjou within her control, and thus prevent his being the means of incorporating the Low Countries with France.†

At the same time, a lengthened but vain effort to restore peace was made at Cologne, under the mediation of England, France, and the empire. The representatives of Elizabeth were Walsingham and Cobham. It is evident from the employment of Walsingham, who had every advantage of capacity and European reputation, and the duration of the conference, that Elizabeth still clung to the hope of peace. Philip would listen to nothing short of the proscription of all religion but the Roman catholic, and the negotiators hardly passed the threshold of dispute.

Meanwhile, before Casimir and his auxiliaries had yet arrived, John of Austria attacked the camp of the confederates at Rymenant in Brabant. The attack, made on the 1st of August, was repulsed, chiefly through the gallantry of sir John Norreys and a regiment of English volunteers, who fortunately came up to the relief of the allies. Norreys had three horses killed under him, and began his career with a lustre which deserted him at its close. Casimir arrived with a larger force than that authorised or stipulated; Anjou was on the frontier of Hainault, with troops raised chiefly with money supplied to him by Elizabeth, who fully approved his design; and yet the position of the states was as precarious as ever. Elizabeth, who could be tolerant to catholics every where except at home, wisely advised the states to permit unmolested, in the protestant towns, the worship of the Roman

* *Mém. de Cast.* lii. ad finem.

† “*Quippe quæ mallet Andinum per matrimonium in sua potestate habere quam Belgas per Andinum in Gallorum potestate teneri.*”—*Thuan. Hist.* lib. lxxvi.

catholics. With the latter she could have no influence as to the toleration of the protestants in the catholic towns. Both sects, where they respectively predominated, refused toleration; religious discord threatened consequences more fatal than the sword of the Spaniard; the rich and aristocratic Walloon provinces made overtures of submission to the king of Spain*; in fine, the liberty of the Low Countries was in the last state of peril, when salvation resulted from two causes, — the consummate prudence of the prince of Orange, and the sudden death of John of Austria, on the 1st of October, at Bougy, in his camp. His death was ascribed by some to Philip's jealousy of his designs upon England, and a secret project entertained by him of marrying, not Mary queen of Scots, but Elizabeth, — a supposition utterly absurd. The English, as well as Philip, were accused of his death.† The latter were assuredly, and the former probably, innocent. Philip would not have had him despatched, at a moment the most advantageous to his enemies. Others ascribed his death to the consequences of his debaucheries.‡ In a dissolute and perfidious age, the deaths of most remarkable men, under circumstances at all doubtful, were ascribed to poison or their profligacies.

The prince of Parma, nephew of Philip, and son of the princess regent of the Netherlands, assumed the command with no little fear of the jealous temper of Philip.§ He followed up the system of dividing the states with more judgment and success than don John. The duke of Arschot, the unworthy rival of the prince of Orange, was among the deserters of the national cause. He was received by the Spaniards with derision.|| The degenerate son of count Egmont was guilty of both treason and desertion at Brussels. He attempted to seize the town, was surrounded in the market place by the inhabitants, and dismissed with no

* Grot. Ann. lib. ii.

† Ibid. lib. iii.

‡ Burleigh's Letters and Diary, apud Murdin.

§ Strad. Bell. Belg. dec. 1. lib. ix.

|| "Hispanis Sudibrio fuit." — Grot. Ann. lib. iii.

other punishment than the reproach of betraying his country to the tyrant who had caused his patriot father's execution on the scaffold, in that very spot, by a melancholy coincidence, on that very day eleven years.*

Casimir had brought with him a larger number of troops than had been stipulated, found himself unable to satisfy their clamorous demands for pay, and had to proceed to England to explain his conduct to Elizabeth. The duke of Anjou, ill-tempered and incapable, disbanded or was deserted by the greater part of his troops; and returned to France in disgust, to renew his everlasting proposals of marriage. The ignorant bigotry of the people, and craven selfishness of the nobles, disheartened and weakened the common cause. The prince of Parma, more politic and conciliating than don John, with equal if not superior military vigour and skill, was preparing to take advantage of a state of things so favourable to him. If the tutelary genius of the prince of Orange did not once more interpose, the public cause was lost. Wisely abandoning all hope of the aristocratic and bigoted Walloon provinces, he concentrated his operations within the poorer provinces of the north; convoked at Utrecht a new assembly of the northern states; and, on the 9th of January, 1579, witnessed and joined in the sealing of that celebrated union of Utrecht which was the basis of the future republic. It comprised, in the first instance, Holland, Zealand, Gueldres, and Friesland. The cities of Brussels, Antwerp, Bruges, Ypres, Ghent, and the maritime tracts of Flanders, were, after some time, induced or compelled to adhere to it. There was one vice in this memorable contract,—the preservation of their local laws and usages to each province and to some towns, in a state of jarring independence. It was a concession to local prejudices. But there was also the redeeming pervading virtue of religious toleration. The prince of Orange was now invested with the title of captain-general and admiral of the united provinces; and the

* Grot. Ann. lib. iii.

name of stadtholder, which he had held from Philip, was conferred on him by the people.

The finances were exhausted, and the war was carried on with languor on both sides. The prince of Parma took Courtray, Breda, and some smaller places; whilst the English volunteers, under sir John Norreys, stormed Mechlin. This capture was disgraced by the wanton slaughter of citizens and monks*, and the plunder not only of private houses, convents, and churches, but of the very sepulchres. Tombstones were carried away, and publicly exposed for sale in England.† Meanwhile Philip gained a kingdom.

Don Sebastian of Portugal, upon his death, or disappearance in his African expedition, was succeeded by his uncle, don Henry, a cardinal, seventy years of age. The cardinal enjoyed his royalty but a year, which was passed chiefly in hearing the disputes of the several pretenders to his inheritance. Among these were Philip II., Catherine of Medicis, the pope, and don Antonio, knight of Malta and prior of Crato. Upon the death of don Henry, in 1579, Philip settled the question, by summoning the duke of Alva from his captivity, and sending him into Portugal at the head of an army. "I wonder," said Alva, "when he received the summons, 'the king can want a general in chains to conquer a kingdom.'‡ The prior of Crato alone attempted resistance; was utterly defeated at Alcantara, in August, 1580; and sought refuge in England, where a few poor sharers of his exile called him 'sire' and 'majesty,' and served him on their knees. Philip II., taking umbrage at this wretched and ridiculous burlesque of royalty, demanded of Elizabeth his expulsion from England; and, upon her refusal, resorted to his favourite

* "Multa civium et religiosorum strage." — *Camd. Ann.* All who would profit by Camden's Annals should beware of the slanderous translation of that invaluable work given in Kennet. The floundering mis-translation of "religiosorum" (monks) into "religious people" has strangely puzzled or misled some English writers.

† *Grot. Ann. lib. iii.* Camden states the fact with shame, as an eye-witness.

‡ *Strad. de Bell. Belg. dec. i. lib. vii.*

practice of advertising for assassins, by setting a price upon the poor prior's head.

The great accession of wealth and territory, and especially of naval power, thus acquired by Philip, in the possession of the whole peninsula and the Portuguese colonies, alarmed Elizabeth. She resolved to divert him from projects of invasion by affording him full employment in the Netherlands. With this view, she obtained subsidies from the commons and the convocation.* The former voted two fifteenths, the latter 6s. 8d. in the pound, payable in three years; and the session was prorogued on the 18th of March, 1580.†

The prince of Orange now launched that measure which he had long meditated — a declaration of independence. "Why," he asked the states, "treat as their prince, him whom they were fighting as their most implacable enemy? Had not Philip, by the violation of his oath, released them from theirs? ‡ Was not the greater number of existing sovereign families called in by the people, to the place of others who had been dethroned for sloth or tyranny?" § On the 29th of September, 1580, a decree of the states-general deposed Philip of Burgundy from the sovereignty of the Netherlands, because he had violated the laws. || The next question was the election of a sovereign in his place. The duke of Anjou was chosen from fear of Philip, not from affection to him, in compliance with the recommendation of the prince of Orange and the declared wishes of Elizabeth ¶; and the archduke Matthias, a mere cipher, was dismissed to Germany with ceremonial politeness. That this blow was directed at Philip by Elizabeth there cannot be a doubt. He sought to avenge himself upon his two deadliest foes, the queen of England and the prince of Orange;—on the

* Carte, Gen. Hist. lxix.

† Jour. 23 Eliz. an. 1580.

‡ "Gentium jus esse, alterius perfidia solvi mutuos nexus."—*Grot. Ann. lib. iii.*

§ *Grot. Ann. lib. iii.*

|| "Philippo ob violatas leges imperium abrogatum est."—*Ibid.*

¶ "Nam et optime ipsi (Andino) cum serenissima Angliæ regina convenire, et Elizabetham per suos oratores ac literas, hunc principem crebro commendare."—*Thuan. Hist. lib. liii.*

former, by fomenting insurrection in Ireland; on the latter, by publishing against him a manifesto, in which he assailed the prince's public and private life with outrageous scurrilities, and marked him out for assassination by setting a price upon his head. The prince of Orange replied by his famed "Apology," which is praised above its deserts.* Written by a Frenchman named Villiers, who had been a lawyer and became a huguenot minister, it is a technical defence, in a case where defence was easy; and retaliates upon Philip his own personalities, by charging him with adulterous seductions, incestuous marriages, and the murder of his wife and son. The prince, indeed, maintained his superiority by not proscribing the head of Philip in his turn, and trusting only to his sword and the gratitude of his country. The states gave him a body guard; but this did not save him from the poniards of Philip. One cannot contemplate without astonishment this tyrant, alike cowardly and cruel, commanding massacre and assassination from the recesses of his cabinet, yet obeyed by large masses of mankind from attachment as well as fear; losing the Netherlands, and ruining Spain by his cruelties, yet called by many historians politic and wise. Individual opinion depends upon so many circumstances independent of reason and truth, that the latter fact is not to be accounted extraordinary. But it assuredly is strange that the intellectual perceptions and moral feelings of an aggregate of men should be so distorted and depraved as to see in him a fit object for their obedience and respect.

The duke of Anjou joyfully accepted the sovereignty; set out for the Low Countries with an army, raised and subsisted by funds secretly supplied to him by Elizabeth†; relieved Cambray, which was invested by the prince of Parma; was installed sovereign with the title of duke of Brabant; soon found himself reduced to a

* See Dumont, Corps Dip. vol. v. "Moderatores nimiam eam existimarent."—*Thuan. Hist. lib. lxxl.*

† Cam. Ann.

state of inaction ; and went over to England with the declared purpose of expediting his marriage.

The marriage meanwhile had been pressed with great earnestness. Three envoys, — Bacqueville and Rambouillet in the name of Henry III., and Simier in that of the duke of Anjou, — were engaged in negotiating it in England since the preceding year. It is not necessary to enter into discussions upon a marriage which did not take place, and under circumstances of religious and state policy which are most unlikely to recur. The great objection to the French prince was that of his religion, — to which, however, he did not appear violently attached ; and the great fear of rejecting him was, that the consequence might be his marriage with a daughter of the king of Spain. France, Spain, and the see of Rome might thus be united ; the insurrection of the Low Countries would be crushed ; and the whole force of catholic Europe would be directed against Elizabeth.

Leicester was alarmed at the progress which the envoy of Anjou was making in the good graces of his mistress. He accused Simier of having fascinated Elizabeth by unhallowed arts, at a time when witches and sorcerers were objects of horror to the people, and punished with death by the law. Familiar alike with religious hypocrisy and the blackest crimes, he was suspected of even employing a ruffian to assassinate the obnoxious Frenchman : but of this there is no proof beyond implication. The queen declared, by public proclamation, Simier and his suite under her special protection ; which would certainly imply that his life was in peril. Whilst Elizabeth happened to be in her barge on the Thames, with Simier of the party, one of her bargemen was wounded by a shot from a boat on the river. Leicester was suspected of having procured the shot to be fired at Simier ; but it proved to have been an accident ; and the person who discharged the piece protested and proved his innocence so earnestly and clearly, that, after being condemned on

his trial, he was rescued from execution by the queen. Elizabeth has the credit of having said on this occasion, that "she would believe nothing of her people which parents would not believe of their children."* She yet was not distinguished for clemency or confidence. There was little magnanimity in pardoning a man admitted to be innocent; and when she mingled with the multitude she was politic, not confiding. It is a trite artifice of courts to invent these royal apophthegms of grandeur and goodness for the credulous people.

Simier retaliated upon Leicester, by acquainting Elizabeth with the fact of his being secretly married to the widow of Essex, after having caused Essex himself, it was said, to be poisoned in Ireland. Negotiating her own marriage with another man, she confined at Greenwich a favourite whose name was disreputably associated with hers throughout Europe†, and would have sent him to the Tower, if the honest earl of Sussex, the enemy of Leicester, had not dissuaded her from scandalising herself. This trait of gross, reckless, self-indulgent despotism proved her the true daughter of Henry VIII. It yet appears that she spurned the idea of a marriage with Leicester. "Tell your master," said she to Castelnau, when French ambassador at her court, "that I will never descend to marry my subject, or make him my companion."‡ This was in 1573. After an interval of seven years, when one of the ladies of her bed-chamber, whom Leicester had in his interest, spoke to her of marrying him, she replied by asking indignantly, "Do you think I could so far forget my royal dignity as to prefer for my husband a petty servant, whom I have myself raised, before some of the greatest princes of Christendom?"§

The duke of Anjou came over with a brilliant suite

* Cam. Ann.

† "Le maréchal de Tavanes dist un jour au duc d'Anjou (Hen. III.), 'Le milord Robert (Leicester) veut vous faire espouser son amie : faites lui espouser Châteauneuf, qui est la vostre ; vous lui rendrez le pennache qu'il vous veut donner.'" — *Vie du Mar. de Tav.*, par l'Abbé Perau; and *Mém. de Tavanes*.

‡ Mém. de Cast. i. 185.

§ Cam. Ann.

1580. PROPOSED MARRIAGE OF ELIZABETH.

towards the close of 1580. Those who had seen him[†] in France were prepared for a disenchantment on the part of the queen as soon as she beheld him ; but the question had already been resolved in his favour. He had made a secret and unexpected visit to Elizabeth in the preceding year, at the instigation of the dexterous Simier, and by the gallantry of the surprise overcame his personal disadvantages. He returned from his first visit in a few days, seen by few. When he now appeared publicly, it was admitted that there was some ground for Leicester's charge of sorcery and unlawful arts against his agent Simier. His face had suffered from the small-pox *, according to some ; from his debaucheries, according to others.† It may be counted among the caprices of the sex, that it was his fortune to please.‡ The marriage proceeded so far that the contract was prepared ; but with an escape contrived for the lady, if she should, as it proved, change her mind.§ The papers, drawn up collectively or individually by her grave council, upon the advantages and disadvantages of marriage, in the abstract and in the particular case, form a curious tissue of erudition, reason, pedantry, and trifling.|| It is evident that the majority of her council, and her own better judgment, were opposed to the marriage, whilst her inclination was decidedly for it. The clergy denounced it from the pulpit with so much violence, that Elizabeth enjoined them strict silence upon that particular topic.¶ A

* Digges.

† *Mém. de Cast. add. de Lab. i. 700.*

‡ An enlargement of his nose gave him the appearance of having two noses, and was made the subject of an epigram : —

“ Flamands, ne soyez estonnés
Si à François voyez deux nez ;
Car par droit raison et usage
Faut deux nez à double visage.”

Mém. de Cast. i. 701. (Add. de Lab.)

§ “ Icelle dame reine a expressement déclaré et réservé, qu'en vertu du dit contrat, elle n'entend estre obligée et astreinte à l'accomplissement et consommation du dit mariage, jusque à ce que la dite dame reine et le dit très illustre duc, se soient mutuellement esclairsis et satisfaits d'aucunes choses particulières entre eux ” — *Mém. de Cast. i. 685.*

|| See Murdin's State Papers, and Ellis's Orig. Lett. illustrative of Eng. Hist.

¶ Letter of Gilb. Talbot to his father, lord Shrewsbury, in Lodge's Illus. ii. 213.

puritan named Stubbs published against it a vehement diatribe, for which he was condemned to have his right hand cut off. Dalton, a lawyer, and Monson, a judge of the common pleas, questioned the legality of the sentence, which was founded on one of the barbarous laws of queen Mary against protestants. The former was imprisoned, the latter retired or was removed from the bench; and the fanatic victim of this barbarous punishment cried "God save the queen!" waving his hat with his remaining hand, when the axe had but just deprived him of the other.* The gallant and accomplished sir Philip Sidney addressed to her an elaborate letter of remonstrance, admirable for its elegance and point, but melancholy as a proof that even he was not above the national and religious bigotries of his age. "Is he not," says sir Philip, "a Frenchman and a papist?" and upon these two ideas he rings ingenious changes through his letter.† Opinion upon the subject at court was perplexed and balanced. "It is verily thought," says Gilbert Talbot, writing to his father, "this marriage will come to pass, of a great sort of wise men. Yet, nevertheless, there are divers others, like St. Thomas of Jude, who would not believe till they had both seen and felt."‡ Two persons of great experience and shrewdness,—Castelnau, French ambassador at the court of Elizabeth, and Villeroy, secretary in succession to Charles IX. and Henry III. and Henry IV.,—pronounced it, on the part of Elizabeth, a systematic scheme of dissimulation and policy.§ On her birthday, however, she presented the duke of Anjou with a ring in the presence of her court; and the marriage was looked upon as decided. Couriers were despatched through Europe with the news. St. Aldegonde, envoy of the prince of Orange, sent him the intelligence; and the chief cities of the United Provinces set no bounds to their demonstrations of joy. Duplessis-Mornay, who was, with the prince of Orange, could not be per-

* Cam. Ann.

† Lodge's Illust. ii. 212.

‡ See the Cabala, part i. p. 335.

§ Mém. de Castelnau.

suaded until the prince convinced him, by the despatch of St. Aldegonde. A second letter from the envoy, received next day, put to flight all these illusions, by news that the marriage was broken off; and the rejoicings through the Low Countries gave way to disappointment. The queen's change of mind is accounted for in the following manner by Camden. — Her whole female household, gained by Leicester to his interest, gathered round her in the evening, after she had presented the ring, with terror and lamentations. They alarmed her both for her throne and life. She passed the night sleepless and in tears, had a private conference with Anjou next morning, and retracted her pledge. The poor duke, who found himself not only disappointed of a crown, but about to become the jest of Europe, retired to his chamber, threw down the ring, took it up again, and inveighed against the inconstancy of islanders and the sex.* The quarrel, however, was made up, and new hopes given to the lover. The states pressed his return; but Elizabeth detained him at her court.† The negotiations continued in England and France; and it may be inferred, from the correspondence of Walsingham‡, that the marriage would still take place, if Henry III. could have been brought to enter into a league, offensive and defensive, with England. That prince's distractions and distresses in France, his fear of Philip II., and his want of political capacity, prevented this; and the duke of Anjou left England for the Netherlands in February, 1581, still buoyed up with the hope of sharing the throne of Elizabeth. A splendid escort of the first nobility of England attended him to Antwerp; and the queen herself accompanied him to Canterbury. It appears, from a letter of lord Talbot to his father, the earl of Shrewsbury, that Elizabeth obtained a promise to return in March "from him, whom she so unwillingly parted," and would not stay at Whitehall, because it brought him to her remembrance.§

* Cam. Ann.

† Carte, Gen. Hist. book xix.

‡ Digges.

§ Lodge's Illust. ii, 258. Mr. Lodge treats Camden's account of the giving of the ring, and the quarrel which followed, as wholly discredited

The duke of Anjou soon proved himself unworthy of his trust. Restricted by the compact upon which he accepted the sovereignty, — distrusted for his incapacity, — suffering under the superiority of the prince of Orange, — surrounded by French adventurers, — imbecile, treacherous, and tyrannical, — he conspired against those who had made him their prince, attempted to seize Antwerp by surprise, was overpowered by the inhabitants, saved himself by flight, and left William of Nassau and Alexander Farnese to dispute the Low Countries; which they soon covered with glory as the theatre of a memorable war.

It may be well to follow the duke of Anjou to the close of his ignoble life. Returned to France, he found himself placed between the hatred or contempt of his brother, his mother, the catholics and huguenots, and died at Château Thierry, on the 10th of June, 1584, of disappointment, poison, or his debaucheries. It was not the least good fortune of Elizabeth to have escaped a marriage with one who had most of the vices, without one virtue, of the effete and expiring house of Valois.

CHAP. V.

RELIGIOUS PERSECUTIONS. — TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF THE QUEEN OF SCOTS. — WAR WITH SPAIN.

1580—1588.

HAD the government of Elizabeth kept the promise of its earlier years, her reign would have been a period of unclouded glory. But, unhappily, as she grew powerful in Europe, and secure on her throne, her preten-

by the letter of lord Talbot. But they are perfectly compatible, and most likely both true. There was time for reconciliation between November and February; and the fact of Anjou's remaining, independent of other and express evidence, would prove that a reconciliation had taken place.

sions became despotic, and her policy intolerant. She rudely trampled on the privileges and personal liberty of the commons; she claimed for her proclamations the authority of law in matters spiritual and temporal; she sharpened the edge of penal enactments and persecution against puritans and catholics; she inflicted the slow torture of an iniquitous captivity of nineteen years upon a suppliant, a kinswoman, and a queen; and she shed the blood of her victim, with a mixture of barbarity and dissimulation which renders her character as a sovereign hateful, as a woman monstrous. It is true that both her throne and her life were menaced abroad and at home. But the increasing hostility of foreign powers was a homage to her increasing strength; and the secret plots against her person were generated by her persecutions and proscriptions. Had she tolerated the religious worship of the Roman catholics, her life would have been more safe. The worship of God is a want of the people: they will have it at any cost; and to subject their indulgence of it to the peril of life or fortune, was to breed fanaticism and vengeance. When she made the exercise of his functions by a Roman catholic priest a service of life or death, she held out England as a tempting and exclusive theatre to the missionary zeal of desperadoes and fanatics. If the Roman catholic laity received and sheltered, as spiritual directors, priests whose tenets and practices were dangerous to the safety of the state and life of the sovereign, it was because they could have no other. Persecution was never yet employed by a government, without recoiling upon its authors, in the very evil which it was intended to prevent. Had Elizabeth neither proscribed the religion nor imprisoned the person of Mary queen of Scots, Babington would not have conspired. Persecution and the inquisition lost Philip of Spain the Low Countries.

The severe act of the 13th of Elizabeth remained a dead letter for several years. The compass and cruelty of this law may be judged from the provision, that

to call the queen heretic, schismatic, or infidel, should be held and punished as treason. Another provision excited, at the same time, profound suspicion, and satirical merriment. Any person who, during the queen's life, should, by any book or writing, maintain that any other than the *natural* issue of the queen's body was or ought to be her heir or successor, was subjected to fine and imprisonment for the first offence, and the penalty of *præmunire* for the second. The substitution of natural for lawful issue was treated by some in jest, by others in serious earnest, as a contrivance of Leicester to secure the crown to his *natural* issue by the queen. But the enactment and the term were evidently levelled at the queen of Scots, whose title had just been asserted in a book by the bishop of Ross, printed abroad, and circulated widely, though privately, in England.

It would appear that Elizabeth dreaded something like the assumption of a deposing power by the hierarchy of the puritans.* The statute requires of them a declaration that they believed in their consciences that Elizabeth was and ought to be lawful queen, notwithstanding any act or sentence done or given by any synod, consistory, church, or other ecclesiastical assembly.

The first victim to this law was a priest named Maine, executed in Cornwall. His offence was clearly against the statute; but it was religious, not political. A gentleman, named Trugion, guilty of harbouring him, was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, and the confiscation of his estates.

This severity of Elizabeth's government was first excited by the intrigues of an adventurer named Stukely, who imposed upon the pope and Philip II. by representing himself as a person of great power in Ireland, where he had few friends, little influence, and no fortune. He went by the name of duke of Ireland in Philip's court; undertook to make the pope's nephew king of Ireland; had a command in the Hispano-Italian expedition of 1579, against that king-

* Strype's Life of Parker.

dom ; diverted his course from Ireland to Africa, with don Sebastian, and perished in the memorable battle of the three kings.

The seminary priests expelled from Douay by the Spanish governor Requesens, out of complaisance to Elizabeth, found an asylum at Reims. There was a similar establishment at Rome ; and both were endowed as nurseries to supply missionary priests for England. It is obvious that, as already observed, none but zealots the most desperate would enter upon a mission so perilous. The queen's marriage with the duke of Anjou, then pending, caused a new access of the fear of popery ; and all who had sent their children to be educated abroad were commanded by proclamation to give in their names forthwith, and recall them within a short specified period. It would appear that the catholics were disposed to use all means of disarming the suspicions of the queen. They obtained from Gregory XIII. a relaxation of the bull against Elizabeth, which, however, he declared to be still binding upon her, though not upon the catholics ; and they suppressed an obnoxious book written by Parsons the jesuit. The modification of the bull was brought over by the jesuits Campion and Parsons, both Englishmen, and educated at Oxford. Campion appears to have been a man of mild character and accomplished talents ; Parsons, a fierce bigot. They were the first jesuits who had trodden the soil of England, and they lived there above a year, travelling secretly or in disguise from the house of one catholic to another. The catholics, "to speak it," says Camden, "upon their own assurance, repudiated the tenets and the turbulence of Parsons, whom they threatened to denounce." This fact, of which there can be no doubt, proves that the catholic laity sought only the exercise of their worship, and wished not to meddle with the pope's pretensions to the power of deposing the queen. Campion published a book, described by his adversaries as ingenious and polite,—the latter a rare merit in religious contro-

versy at any time,—under the title of “Ten Reasons in Defence of the Church of Rome.” He was taken some months after, put to the rack, called upon to defend his book in a public disputation, and, it was observed with something like triumph, failed to maintain the renown which he had obtained as a disputant by his book. Where one party argued with the rack in the background and the executioner within call, the disputation can hardly be said to have taken place on equal terms; and the inferiority of Campion to his opponents may be accounted for without detracting from his capacity. Campion was executed, with three priests, named Sherwood, Kirby, and Briant, in the year following his arrest, torture, and disputation (1581). They inculcated obnoxious and dangerous tenets in religion; they offended against a sanguinary statute which should never have been passed; but there was no evidence of their having conspired or instigated conspiracy to destroy or depose the queen. Some of them denied, and others equivocated respecting, the legitimacy of the queen’s title as affected by the pope’s bull; but it was assuredly as illegal as it was inhuman to hang men, even jesuits as they were, upon mere tenets extorted from their secret consciences by the rack.* It would appear from the delay of their trials and execution, that the ministers of Elizabeth hesitated to sacrifice them. But they lost the grace of this humane hesitation by sacrificing them at last to state policy and popular fanaticism. Campion and his accomplices were executed to satisfy the people that Elizabeth, in receiving the addresses of the duke of Anjou, did not cease to be a zealous protestant. Several other victims of the same class, discovered lurking or disguised through the country, were offered up to the unhappy barbarism and bigotry of the laws and of the age; “though Elizabeth herself,” says the honest though prejudiced author of the Annals, “believed the greater

* See the whole proceeding in the State Trials, vol. i. taken from a MS. in the Cotton library.

part of those foolish priests guiltless of any designs against her or their country." *

Familiar as the people were with cruelty, and relentless as adverse religionists were to each other, the extent to which the use of the rack was carried, even when the objects were jesuits and popish priests, shocked the natural humanity of the nation. Burleigh was put upon his defence before the public. His vindication mainly consisted in alleging, that Campion was tortured so mildly as to be able soon after to walk and sign his confession.† The genius of the reign of Elizabeth, and of the age, is exhibited by a single trait, and a fearful glimpse, in this association of the rack with mildness. Elizabeth, to render her ministers more odious by the contrast of her own clemency, proclaimed that torture should be discontinued ; and after the false glory thus gained by her, shut her eyes to the resumed or continued use of the horrid engine with renewed activity by her ministers. To her eternal honour, however, she ordered seventy popish priests, either under sentence of death or awaiting it, to be released from prison, the rack, and the scaffold.‡

Had the catholics frankly acknowledged the validity of Elizabeth's title, she would have been easily reconciled to them. Had they disclaimed the deposing power of the pope, she would have freely tolerated, as she perhaps shared, the tenets of transubstantiation and the invocation of saints, — those bugbears which faction and hypocrisy, bigotry and credulity, have invested with vain terrors and ridiculous importance down to the first quarter of the 19th century. In reference to the puritans, her antipathies were more numerous and her aversion stronger. The blood of sectaries, it has been observed in the preceding pages, was shed ; but the victims were eccentric unrecognised fanatics, not members of the great puritan community. The puritans were too highly patronised, powerful, and independent, they had too many favourers in the house

* Cam. Ann.

† Somers' Tracts, 209.

‡ Cam. Ann.

of commons, and even at court, to be proscribed, tortured, and hanged, like the Roman catholics: but she lost no opportunity to search their consciences, restrict their liberty, and cause their deprivation of benefices which they would have gladly and unscrupulously retained under a church which they pronounced unscriptural. Archbishop Grindall died blind, old, and in disgrace with Elizabeth, in 1582. Whether from the want of energy, or a leaning to the puritans, he tolerated prophesyings and preachings in private houses: he allowed an absolute schism in the church.* In a letter to Burleigh, he vehemently repudiates being a favourer of puritans†. His toleration therefore may be imputed to imbecility. The queen, to restore unity in the church, appointed as his successor Whitgift, a stern inquisitor, irritated by previous controversy; and placed in his hands a commission, comparable only to that celebrated tribunal which, in England, has been regarded as the most odious in the world. She placed at the disposal of the new archbishop forty-four commissioners, of whom twelve were ecclesiastics, with a jurisdiction over the kingdom, and authority to reform all heresies, schisms, errors, vices, sins, misbehaviours,—in short, all acts and opinions,—by fine and imprisonment at their discretion. The ecclesiastical commission had the power of demanding the subscription of the clergy to new articles, and of scrutinising the conscience of a suspected person by ad-

* *Cann. Ann.*

† Letter from the Bishop of London (Ed. Grindall) to the Lord Treasurer. June 26th, 1574.

“ My Lord, — No man sustaineth more wrongs than I do. I well hoped that no devil had been so impudent to have charged me with so great and manifest an untruth. ‘Sed aliquis incarnatus Diabolus, et qui non dormit,’ hath wrought me this wrong. ‘Spiritus ille mendax revelabitur suo tempore.’ I am too well acquainted with these calumniationes, and God will have me still live under the cross. If I should openly preach, write, and publicly proceed against these innovators, disturbers of the state, and notwithstanding privily consent with them, maintain them, and aid them, truly no punishment were too hard for me; for I would think myself unworthy to live in any commonwealth. But being most untruly charged herewithal, while I remain unpurged I remain blotted and defaced; my office is slandered, and the Gospel which I preach ‘male audit.’ ” — *Murdin, State Papers, 275.*

ministering an oath. Proceedings so tyrannical excited general indignation; but Elizabeth and the archbishop did not the less succeed in restoring unity in the church.* The commons offered a gentle suggestion of their disapproval. Elizabeth rebuked them in a tone of spiritual supremacy not exceeded by the pope. She said, that by censuring the church they slandered her whom God had appointed supreme ruler over it; that nothing was exempt from abuse; that the prelates must be vigilant in correcting and preventing abuse and error, or she would deprive them of their office; that she was deeply read in religious science, for which she had more leisure than most other persons; that she would not tolerate the licentiousness and presumption with which many people, she perceived, canvassed scripture, and started innovations; that she was resolved to guide her people by God's rule in the mean between Romish corruptions and sectarian licentiousness; that the papists were enemies of her person, but the sectaries were hostile to all kingly government; and, under colour of preaching the word of God, presumed to exercise their private judgments, and to censure the acts of the prince.†

The only legal ground for this monstrous tribunal, in a country pretending to law or liberty, was a clause in the act of supremacy of the first year of Elizabeth. If such power were conferred by it, the sovereign was absolute; if it was not conferred, Elizabeth set herself above the laws. Sir Edward Coke pronounces the commission against law ‡, and says, that, from a secret distrust or consciousness of its illegality, it was not enrolled in chancery as other commissions, to prevent its validity from being questioned. This appears to be the reason of a stunted lawyer who identified substance with formality. The commissioners were exercising their jurisdiction by fines and imprisonments, ransacking the houses of the people by their pursuivants, and their

* Camd. Ann.

† Fourth Inst.

‡ L'Ewes, Journ.

consciences by administering oaths. This, assuredly, was a more likely mode of challenging the question of its legality, than the recording of it on the chancery roll. At a subsequent period, indeed, when Elizabeth re-issued a similar commission, a man slew a pursuivant who with a warrant from the commissioners entered and searched his house, and the man was discharged from the bar by the judges of assize, on the ground that the warrant was illegal.*

But whilst the queen was thus strenuous in asserting her supremacy without bounds, the puritans became more jealous of the right of private judgment and extemporaneous prayer,—the commons of the exercise of their privileges. An attempt was made at the close of 1584, in the house of commons, by doctor Turner, a puritan, to introduce a book of common prayer, drawn up by the ministers of that sect, and containing a summary of their discipline.† The book would appear to bind to a specific form of prayer, but there was a rule in the rubrick allowing the minister, at his discretion, to use the form set down, or pray “as God should move him.” It was rejected; but the puritans succeeded in wringing from archbishop Whitgift, chiefly through the power of Leicester, a conference at Lambeth, to argue the question between them and the church. Sparke and Travers were deputed to vindicate the tenets of the puritans, and more particularly their objections to the book of common prayer. They made five objections: to the reading of the apocryphal writings; to the manner of baptism; to private communion; to the apparel; and to the allowing of an inefficient ministry, non-residence, and pluralities.‡ The assessors of the privy council were Leicester, Grey, and Walsingham. The two champions of puritanism maintained a four hours’ disputation: in the opinion of Leicester they had the advantage§; according to the ecclesiastical historians of the adverse

* Fourth Inst. 42 Eliz.

† Neal, Hist. Pur. vol. i. p. 289.

‡ Coll. Ec. Hist.

§ Carte, Gen. Hist. book xix.

party they were confuted and convinced*; in point of fact, they continued non-conformists to their death.† The probability is, that the conference ended leaving the convictions of both parties as it found them, or rooted more firmly. Private meditation may enlighten, — in a public dispute the object is not truth but victory.

The house of commons at the same time vindicated the privileges of its members against subpœnas from the courts of chancery and star-chamber. If its independence and practical operation were borne down by the despotic temper of Elizabeth, the energy of her character and the skill with which she obtained popularity, by flattering the religious and other prejudices of the common people, still its vitality was from time to time asserted and preserved.

The penal laws against Roman catholics were at the same time so sharpened and multiplied by fresh enactments, and by the employment of spies and informers, those worst instruments used by the emperors in the worst days of Rome, as to render it impossible for catholics to live under them in safety. False denunciations and forged letters subjected the most conspicuous to examinations before the privy council, deprivation of rights, or committal to the Tower.

The desperate plots of foreign emissaries and religious fanatics against the life of Elizabeth would palliate, if not excuse, the severity of her laws against Roman catholics, if her own intolerance had not so great a share in provoking and producing them. These successive conspiracies are so linked with the captivity and execution of Mary queen of Scots, that both should be passed conjointly in review.

The massacre of St. Bartholomew, whilst it produced no interruption of political amity and diplomatic politeness between Elizabeth and Charles IX., and but a brief suspension of the negotiation of marriage between her and the duke of Alençon, sealed the doom of Mary

* Strype.

† Neal.

queen of Scots. The sudden escape of deadly intention towards that ill-fated princess, from lords of the council and the bishop of London, has been noticed in its place. Some analogy exists between the two crimes. In the execution of the queen of Scots, as in the massacre of the huguenots, the project of destruction floated in the minds of the respective authors for a series of years. If Elizabeth marked out but one victim, she cherished her cruel purpose for a longer period than Catherine of Medicis, and she executed it with more ostentatious hypocrisy. She avowed, indeed, as early as 1563, the melancholy ambition of rivalling that false and cruel woman in her own arts.*

It is most probable that the massacre of St. Bartholomew would have figured among the charges against the queen of Scots when she was interrogated by Sadler, Wilson, and Bronley, if it had then taken place. When it did take place, very soon after, it was visited upon her with an absurdity of wrong which excites pity and disgust. It was recollected by her gaolers, when the news enlightened them, that she had been more than usually cheerful on St. Bartholomew's eve: they reported this suspicious fact to Elizabeth's council, and Mary was in consequence more strictly confined.†

The idea of the queen of Scots' escape haunted and tormented the imagination of Elizabeth. Her sensations towards Mary appear to have been strangely compounded of jealousy, hatred, and fear. She thought that lord Shrewsbury, the gaoler, and lord Burleigh, the enemy of the queen of Scots, could not escape her fascinations. Burleigh went to Buxton for the benefit of the waters, met the queen of Scots there, fell under the suspicion of Elizabeth, and had some difficulty in vindicating himself, by proving his hostility to the captive syren.‡

* "La royne d'Angleterre dist pour conclusion (in reference to the questions of Havre and Calais), au secrétaire Robertet, qu'elle était Anglaise et la royne de France Florentine, et que l'on verrait laquelle saurait mieux mener ses affaires à chef." — *Letter of the Spanish Ambassador Perrenot*, dated June 1563, in *Mém. de Condé*.

† *Dépeches de la Mothe-Fénélon*, cited by Carte.

‡ Lodge's *Illust.* ii. 131.

Shrewsbury writes to Elizabeth in the same strain. Yet both had given her pledges of their fidelity in their usage of her victim. Shrewsbury, the bearer of one of the most illustrious historic names of his country, tarnished it by accepting a duty necessarily degrading, and, by the harsh, if not inhuman, spirit in which he appears to have exercised it, odious. He declares, in a letter to Elizabeth, that if his unhappy prisoner should attempt to escape, "the peril should be hers *," — a declaration assuredly little becoming the descendant of the great and gallant Talbot. The earl alone of his family had changed the catholic for the reformed faith.† He did little credit to his conversion; but at the same time he gained so little by it, that it must have been sincere. It is hard to determine which was the most unhappy in the earl's sad household, himself, his countess, or his captive. Female jealousy and private scandal between the countess and the queen of Scots‡, the responsibility of his charge, the suspicions of Elizabeth, the wasting of his fortune from the inadequacy of his allowance, the squabbles fomented by Elizabeth between him, his wife, and his tenants, harassed him to such a degree, that he wished himself in his grave.§

It would be tedious, and, perhaps, impossible, within the compass of these pages, to pursue the complicated train of hollow negotiation and deceitful intrigue between Elizabeth and the queen of Scots. Both, doubtless, were insincere. There is on the side of Elizabeth the harsh hypocrisy of superior and absolute power; on the side of Mary, disguised hatred, with promises of devoted gratitude which she had no intention to keep. But the one dissembled from a throne, the other from a prison. The basest artifices were practised by the grave statesmen of the court of Elizabeth to entrap the queen of Scots into some avowal which could be turned to her own destruction. "Her majesty would have you tempt

* Lodge's Illust. ii. 96.

† Letter of Gilbert Talbot, Lodge's Illust. ii. 102.

‡ See Letter of Mary Queen of Scots to Elizabeth, App. M.

§ See in Lodge his letters passim.

her patience to provoke her to answer somewhat," says the great lord Burleigh to the proud earl of Shrewsbury.* Forged letters and false confidants were employed against her for the same purpose, but without success. Up to Babington's conspiracy, there was no pretence for charging her with being accessory to any of the plots formed against the life of Elizabeth.

The first real design against the queen's life appears to have been formed in mere madness. It took place in 1583. John Somerville, a gentleman of Warwickshire, inflamed, if Dugdale† may be credited, by "popish books," and "seminary priests," proceeded to London breathing fury against protestants, drew his sword upon one or two whom he met on his way, was taken up, and confessed that he was going to court for the purpose of killing the queen. A gentleman, named Arden, of the same county, father-in-law of Somerville, with his wife and daughter, and a priest named Hall, were taken up and convicted as accessaries with Somerville the principal. Arden had spoken disparagingly of the character of Leicester, his neighbour, at Kenilworth, and opposed his interests or wishes in Warwickshire. He was found guilty and executed, on the confession of the priest Hall, who was supposed to have been suborned by Leicester.‡ The favourite's vengeance being thus satiated, a pardon was granted to the priest and the women. Somerville confessed his crime; but escaped the scaffold, by strangling himself in prison.

In the next year (1584), the system of spies, informers, forged letters, and intercepted correspondence, genuine or fabricated, was carried to its utmost height. Spurious letters, bearing the name of the queen of Scots, or of some catholic exile, were introduced into the houses of catholics, in order to discover, not their designs alone, but their sentiments, and to implicate

* Lodge's Illust. ii. 72.

† History of Warwickshire.

‡ Camd. Ann. Speed's account is different from Camden's, but the latter is of course better authority. Where religion, politics, or queen Elizabeth are concerned, the honest chronicler writes in a passion, with undiscerning credulity.

them accordingly.* Nothing remained for those who had the ability but to fly their country, at the peril of being branded as traitors, and of the confiscation of their estates.

Philip Howard, earl of Arundel, son of the last executed duke of Norfolk had become a catholic, and found himself so harassed by examinations and imprisonments, upon the secret information of spies and informers, that he resolved to abandon his country. He intimated his design to the queen by a letter, in which "lamenting the unhappy fate of his father and grandfather, either beheaded for small matters, or circumvented by the arts of their enemies, he declared to her that, to prevent his inheriting their misfortunes, and for the good of his soul, he had quitted his country, but not his allegiance." His own servants, and the master of the vessel, in the pay of Walsingham, denounced his departure; and he was brought back from a small creek in the coast of Sussex, where he had embarked, to be consigned to the Tower, in which, after many years' captivity, he died of the wretchedness of his condition, and austerity of his devotions. At the time when Arundel began, the earl of Northumberland, brother of the last earl who was executed for the northern rebellion, terminated his captivity in the Tower. He was imprisoned on suspicion of conspiring to liberate Mary queen of Scots; and shot himself, from impatience of temper, or, as he was said to have declared, "to balk queen Elizabeth of the forfeiture of his lands."† An enquiry took place in the star-chamber touching his death and the crime with which he was charged. His death, by three pistol bullets discharged into his left breast, was clearly proved his own act; — but the proof and sentence of treason against him on his posthumous trial are at least doubtful.‡

Emissaries were scattered through the country, in order to catch and report what they heard; and these reports, however false or idle, were well received, and acted upon.§

* *Camd. Ann.*

† *Carte.*

‡ See Somers' Tracts, i. 212.

§ "Emissarii ubique ad calligendos rumores et verba captanda dispersi, vana deferentes admissi, plures in suspicionem vocati." — *Camd. Ann.*

Throgmorton's plot, so called, was detected or invented in 1584. Francis Throgmorton, a gentleman of Cheshire, was taken up on the evidence of an alleged intercepted letter. He retracted confessions which he had made on the rack, repeated them on an assurance that he should be pardoned by the queen, was disappointed, and again denied on the scaffold the truth of declarations which had been extorted from him, in the first instance, by torture; in the next, by a treacherous promise of the royal mercy. The truth of the conspiracy, then, may very well be doubted. The common pretence of taking up suspected or obnoxious persons, was that of carrying on a correspondence with the queen of Scots: it was the charge made against Throgmorton. One presumption against him was, the flight of lord Paget and Charles Arundel, upon his arrest. They, however, put forth a declaration in France, where they had sought refuge, that they fled, not because they were guilty, but because they feared the enmity of Leicester and Walsingham, and knew that innocence could not protect their lives against forged or forsworn evidence, the enmity of the queen's ministers, and her own prejudice.* The relations of Throgmorton with the Spanish ambassador, Mendoza, were more suspicious and important. He is said † to have sent off a packet of secret papers before his arrest to the ambassador; and lists of the ports best suited for an invasion, with the names of the principal Roman catholics of England, were, on searching his house, found in his cabinet. These papers were exhibited to him while he was stretched on the rack. He declared that he had never before seen them; that they were forgeries, and introduced into his house for the purpose of destroying him. Upon their being again presented to him, in presence of the executioner and the engine, he confessed that he had made the list some years before, when consulting, at Spa, with Jency and Englefield on

* Camd. Ann.

† Camd. Ann. The only evidence of his having done so is his alleged confession.

the best mode of invading England, and changing the government. He further stated, that Morgan, a known adherent of the queen of Scots, had written to him from France a letter, stating the design of the Roman catholic princes of Europe to invade England, for the purpose of liberating her ; that the expedition would be commanded by the duke of Guise ; that nothing was wanted—but *money* and *men* ; that Charles Paget was sent over to Sussex, where he passed under the name of Mope, to obtain money and raise troops ; and that he had concerted the means of carrying this design into effect with the Spanish ambassador. Brought to trial after these confessions had been made by him, and finding himself arraigned under the 25 Edw. III., he retracted them, and declared that they were pure inventions of his own to avoid being again tortured, under the supposition that he saved himself, by having fixed the time so as to bring his case within the exemptions of the 13 Eliz., by which he expected to be tried. Upon the strength of confessions thus extorted, and retracted, the jury found him guilty ; but his execution was postponed. The delay appears to have been adopted for an inhuman purpose. He was induced to assert once more the truth of his confession ; and having done so, was ordered to be executed at Tyburn, two months after his trial and conviction. On the scaffold he declared again that the confession was a mere fiction, to which he resorted for the purpose of escaping a second application of the rack. The Spanish ambassador being summoned before the privy council, repelled the charge against him with indignation, and was ordered out of the kingdom. Wade, clerk of the council, was sent at the same time to offer explanations to Philip, and returned without being admitted to the presence of the haughty Spaniard.

The conviction of Throgmorton, upon confessions obtained from him by deceitful promises and the fear of torture, shows that in England, at this period, life was as insecure as under the most implicit and barbarous

despotism of the east or west. The process, indeed, of applying conjointly bodily torture and perfidious hope, was exactly similar to that of the tribunal, which, in England, is a by-word for judicial iniquity. But, whatever his guilt or innocence, the queen of Scots does not appear to have had communication with him, and the intercepted letter must have been fabricated as a pretext for seizing his person and his papers.

In 1584, Shrewsbury was relieved from a charge under which, not only his health but, ultimately, his reason broke down; and Mary was transferred to the custody of sir Ralph Sadler. She was removed from Sheffield to Wingfield, under an escort, and in the immediate care of Somer, the secretary of her new gaoler. Somer made a minute report to Elizabeth of his conversation with Mary on the way.* He evidently had his instructions to draw from her some avowal which could be turned to her prejudice. She appears to have been so closely kept as to be ignorant of the affair of Throgmorton, and spoke of the duke of Guise in such a manner as to show that she knew nothing of any design, real or pretended, of invading England, entertained by him. There is in the reported conversation a characteristic tone of sadness, playfulness, fascination, and finesse. "Do you think," said she, "I would escape from hence if I might?" The secretary answered, that he thought she would, for it was natural to seek liberty. "No, by my troth!" said she, "I would rather die with honour than fly with shame."—"I would be sorry to see the trial," was the secretary's frank reply. She next asked him, whither he thought she would go, if she were at liberty. He replied, he thought she would go to "her own" in Scotland. "It is true," said she, "I would go to Scotland, but only to see, and give give good counsel to my son. But unless her majesty (Elizabeth) would give me her countenance and some maintenance in England, I would go into France, and live there among my friends, with the little portion I have there, and never

* Sadler's State Papers, ii. 289.

trouble myself with government again, or dispose myself to marry any more." Whether the allusion to marriage was made from a feeling of the miseries which her marriages, including even that with Francis II., had brought upon her, or with the intention to disarm the jealous fears of Elizabeth, is doubtful.

Leicester now originated the association for the personal safety of Elizabeth "against popish conspirators." Those who subscribed it bound themselves to prosecute to death, as far as they were able, all who should attempt any thing against the queen.* The queen of Scots saw in it her death-warrant. By way of proving her innocence of all design against the life of Elizabeth, she requested to be allowed to subscribe it; — a vain proceeding on her part, which proved nothing in her favour, and did not tend to mitigate her enemies. "Her majesty," says Walsingham, in a letter to sir Ralph Sadler, "could like well that this association were showed unto the queen, your charge, upon some apt occasion, and that there were some good regard had both unto her countenance and speech after the perusing thereof."† It is not easy to determine which was the more revolting, the sovereign who commanded, or the minister who became the vehicle of this base experiment. The queen of Scots, who saw the axe suspended over her head, made new efforts to obtain her freedom from Elizabeth. She sent her secretary, Naue, with terms of submission so implicit, that Elizabeth gave her hopes. But that princess, who knew well how to throw the responsibility of odious measures from herself upon her instruments, excited, underhand, a clamour among her partisans in Scotland, against both the liberty and life of the queen of Scots.

The bond in which the associators obliged themselves was immediately converted into an act of parliament, summoned for the purpose. The act provided, that any person by, or *for*, whom rebellion should be excited, or the queen's life attacked, might be tried by commission

* Har. Mis. ii. 5.

† Sir R. Sadler's State Papers, ii. 430.

under the great seal, and adjudged to capital punishment; and if the queen's life should be taken away, then any person by or for whom such act was committed, should be capitally punished, and the issue of such person cut off from the succession to the crown. It is unnecessary to point out the monstrous hardship of making the queen of Scots, a prisoner in the hands of Elizabeth, responsible for acts done for her, or in her name. The contingent exclusion of her son from the succession was ascribed to Leicester, who had views for himself, or his brother-in-law lord Huntingdon, upon the crown.

A new penal statute was passed at the same time against Jesuits and seminary priests. They were subjected to the penalties of high treason if they did not quit the kingdom within forty days; and all who harboured them were declared guilty of felony. William Parry, a Welsh member, denounced the bill in the house of commons as cruel, bloody, desperate, and of pernicious consequence to the English nation. Called upon to give his reasons, he declined doing so, except before the council, and was committed; but, upon explanation to the council, was restored to his seat. This fact, it may be observed in passing, shows how powerless the house of commons must have been when the council governed its proceedings and privileges!

Parry was not long restored when Edmund Neville accused him of a plot to assassinate the queen. There is something truly anomalous in the purposes and character of Parry, as they may be collected from his voluntary confession to Walsingham, Hatton, and Lord Hunsdon. He was in the queen's service from 1570 to 1580, when he was condemned to death for attacking and wounding an unarmed man with his drawn sword. The queen pardoned him, and gave him a licence to travel. He went abroad as a spy of Walsingham. His mission was known, and he was shunned by the catholic fugitives of England whom he met on the continent. He, however, reconciled himself to the church of Rome at Paris, proceeded to Milan, justified himself to the in-

quisition, and went to Venice, where he met father Palmio, "a grave and learned Jesuit." By conversing with Palmio about the oppressed state of the English catholics, and perusing the book *De Persecutione Anglicana*, he conceived the idea of killing the queen of England their persecutor, "if the same might be well warranted in religion and conscience by the pope, or some learned divines." Father Palmio "made it clear" to him that his purpose was well warranted, commended his devotion, and introduced him to cardinal Campeggio, the papal nuncio at Venice. The nuncio made him and his design known to the pope, who gave him a passport to Rome through the secretary, cardinal Como;—and in short, after three years' wandering in Italy and France, conferring with others, and ruminating with himself on his project of assassinating queen Elizabeth, he returned to England. It may be inferred, from his confession, that all this time he had been corresponding as a spy with Walsingham; and, on his arrival in England, he appears to have scarcely known himself whether he was a spy or a conspirator. The character of a spy obtained him easy access not only to Walsingham but to the queen. It was also most probably for his services in that character that he was placed in the house of commons, and so easily restored to his seat by the privy council, after his attack upon the bill in progress against Jesuits. He had communicated his design to Neville, who entered into it, and both bound themselves in an oath of secrecy and fidelity. Parry at the same time represented this very Neville to the minister as a dangerous malecontent, upon whom a watchful eye should be kept; and, to guard the queen against his own purposes, he never went into her presence without having laid aside his dagger. After he had been some time in England, cardinal Como wrote him a letter from Rome "commending and allowing" his design, absolving him in the pope's name of all his sins, and "willing him to go forward in the name of God." It reached him, he says, in March, 1583,

“ whilst he was suing for St. Catherine’s at Greenwich.” This was eleven months before his arrest in February, 1584. “ That letter,” he continues, “ I showed to some in court, who imparted it to the queen.”* It might be suspected, that he made the letter known as a contrivance to ensure his safety and deceive the government. But it appears that he communicated it in the visionary expectation of its producing upon Elizabeth an effect favourable to the catholics, and thus releasing him from “ his vows in heaven, and his letters and promises on earth.” — “ What it wrought or may work,” he says, “ in her majesty, God knoweth: only this I know, that it confirmed my resolution to kill her, and made it clear to my conscience that it was lawful and meritorious ; and yet I was determined never to do it if either policy, practice, persuasion, or motion in parliament could prevail. I feared to be tempted, and, therefore, when I came near her, I left my dagger at home.” † The conflicts in the mind of this wretched man are an instructive commentary upon persecuting laws. The very enactments by which Elizabeth thought to repress conspiracy made Parry an assassin ; Walsingham’s system of secret denunciation by informers and spies brought the assassin within reach of her bosom ; and if nature made him lay aside his dagger, it was only because Elizabeth’s code of persecution and her ministers’ state-practices had not yet wholly corrupted nature and extinguished humanity in him. Upon the death of Westmoreland in exile, Neville, his next heir, entertained hopes of his inheritance, and to recommend himself denounced Parry. The queen supposed that Parry, who had already denounced him, had been merely sounding him in his capacity of a spy, and instructed Walsingham to ask him whether he had been making a proposition to take her life by way of experiment to any person.‡ Not seeing the drift of the question, he answered in the negative ; and after his voluntary confession, and

* See his confession. — State Trials, i.

† Ibid.

‡ Caund. Ann.

several letters avowing his crime to the queen and ministers, he was convicted and executed.

Parry, in his confession, expressly acquitted the queen of Scots of any knowledge of his designs. She was equally innocent of the conspiracy of Throgmorton, if he really conspired, which is at least doubtful. The queen of Scots offered to Elizabeth every security, renouncing absolutely the crown of Scotland, and succession to that of England, in favour of her son ; her health was breaking down rapidly ; and yet her imprisonment was only the more rigorous, — her general treatment the more contemptuous and cruel. Sir Ralph Sadler was not long her gaoler, when at his own entreaty, and in consequence of indulgences granted by him to his prisoner, he was removed. One of these indulgences appears to have been his allowing her to go out and enjoy the amusement of his hawks.*

Sir Amias Paulet was appointed to succeed him. Elizabeth after some time would no longer trust the vigilance or faith of one person. She joined sir Drue Drury in the commission with Paulet. Both were puritans, and protected by Leicester. Paulet would not permit his prisoner to distribute popish alms to the neighbouring poor ; she was confined at Tutbury in apartments so damp and pervious to the wind that she lost the use of her limbs. Even before she came into the hands of her new gaolers, her state of health was pitiable. “ I find her,” says Sadler † “ much altered from what she was when I was first acquainted with her. She is not yet able to strain her left foot to the ground, and to her very great grief, not without tears, findeth it wasted and shrunk of its natural measure.” In a further stage, and a state still more deplorable, she appealed to Elizabeth, who did not even notice her appeal. It was rumoured that Leicester sent assassins to despatch her, but that Paulet and Drury, whose integrity was severe as their puritanism,

* Sadler's State Papers, ii. 539.

† Ibid. 460.

refused them admission. Her fate was now approaching its crisis, and her miseries their close.

The intrigues of Elizabeth and her council in Scotland against their unhappy prisoner properly belong to the history of that kingdom, and have, therefore, been passed over.* Scotland, poor, barbarous, and remote from the centre of European politics, was not the less the theatre of European intrigue. The king of Spain and the pope occasionally, the king of France almost constantly, caballed against Elizabeth. The fall of Morton broke up her supremacy. She made several efforts to recover it with imperfect success. At last, in the month of June, 1586, her minister, Randolph, succeeded in negotiating a treaty of "stricter amity" with James, in spite of the remonstrances and intrigues of the French ambassador, Corcelles, and of every feeling of decency or duty to James's unhappy mother, whom, at the pleasure of Elizabeth, he excluded from its provisions. One of the historic accusations against the queen of Scots is, that she conspired with foreign powers to disinherit her son. This treaty was the provocation, and justified her. A son so unfilial had no claim upon a mother whom he abandoned to her enemies, in violation of the sacredness of nature, and her distress. One article of the treaty, and, perhaps, the essential one, was the payment of a pension by Elizabeth to James, who appears to have been as mean in his youth as in his more advanced age. In the same month of June exploded the conspiracy which was made the pretext for taking away his mother's miserable life on the scaffold.

Leicester's bond of association for the protection of Elizabeth against popish conspirators, and the act of parliament, in which it was authorised and embodied, were engines framed for as direct agency in the execution of the queen of Scots as the executioner, the axe, and the block. The act provided, that any person

* See History of Scotland, by Sir Walter Scott, CABINET CYCLOPÆDIA. The transactions in Ireland have also been passed over, because the history of that country is in the hands of one whose genius and patriotism constitute him one of its brightest ornaments — Mr. Moore.

having claim to the succession, by or for whom rebellion was raised, or the queen's life conspired against, should be tried by commissioners; and if proved guilty, adjudged to death. After this act, there was nothing wanting but a conspiracy. It soon presented itself. An English exile, or adventurer, named Savage, who had served the king of Spain in the Low Countries, was persuaded by three priests of the seminary of Reims, named Gifford, Gilbert Gifford, and Hodgson, that the pope's bull against Elizabeth rendered the taking of her life meritorious in the sight of God. Devoting himself to crime and martyrdom, Savage made a vow to kill the queen. About the same time a priest, named Ballard, returned from a mission in England to France, with a companion and confidant named Maude. Ballard moved the Spanish ambassador at Paris to take advantage of the employment of the queen's best troops in the Low Countries, by an invasion of England. The ambassador readily entered into his views, and communicated them to the king of Spain. Charles Paget, brother of lord Paget, a catholic exile, and a disinterested as well as devoted adherent of the queen of Scots, who had introduced Ballard to the Spanish ambassador*, declared, says Camden, that invasion would be fruitless whilst Elizabeth lived; and, accordingly, Ballard proceeded in the disguise of a military officer to England, for the purpose of rendering the projected invasion successful, by taking the queen's life. Carte, Hume, and other writers, repeat this imputation upon the memory of Charles Paget, after Camden, who appears to have had no authority beyond the suspicious one of Ballard's confession. But it should be remembered that in the letter of Charles Paget himself to the queen of Scots†, narrating the arrival of Ballard in Paris, and his interview with the ambassador, invasion and rebellion alone are the topics mentioned: there is not the slightest allusion to the assassination of Elizabeth. The only charge given

* Murdin, State Papers, 519.

† Ibid. 516. et seq.

to Ballard, he says, is that, in the enterprise for the deliverance of the queen of Scots, particular care should be had of the safety of her person. Ballard, however, returned to England, and communicated his own and Savage's design upon the queen's life to Anthony Babington, a young catholic of ardent temper and accomplished talents. Babington had been already in correspondence with the queen of Scots, and discontinued it from jealousy of some preference shown by her to another partisan, named Folijambe.* Persuaded by Ballard † to join in the plot against the queen's life, he proposed that it should be executed, not by Savage alone, but, to render success certain, by six resolute gentlemen, of whom Savage should be one. He further devised a plan for the projected invasion, and liberation of the queen of Scots. For the latter purpose, he associated with himself several persons of respectable condition, his private friends or zealous adherents, real or supposed, to her cause. Among them were Winsor (brother of lord Winsor), Salisbury, Tilney, Tichbourne, Abington, Gage, Travers, Charnock, Jones, Barnwell, Dunn, and Polly.

Three very distinct elements entered into the composition of this plot, — the devoted satellites of the see of Rome; English catholics, inflamed by religious zeal, enthusiastic temperament, and persecution; and the spies of Walsingham. Gilbert Gifford at Reims, the fountain-head; Maude, who accompanied Ballard from England to France; and Polly, who was among the chief confederates of Babington, were spies in the pay of the minister. Polly had introduced himself in the preceding year, at Paris, to Morgan, a zealous partisan of the queen of Scots, and her agent in France; was recommended by him as a trusty person to his mistress; and became, in the course of 1585, the medium of correspondence with her.‡ What the proportionate share

* See Murdin, *State Papers*, 513.

† See *State Trials*, vol. i. Trial of Babington, &c.

‡ See Murdin, *State Papers*, 532. Letter of Mary, Queen of Scots, to Thomas Morgan.

of Walsingham was in generating this tripartite conspiracy, which exploded so opportunely for him, would be a curious matter of speculation and research. If one of the most reputable biographers of the queen of Scots* may be credited, Gilbert Gifford was his spy during two years before, and made more than one visit to England, under an assumed name and character, to stimulate Savage to perform his vow.

After several meetings of the conspirators in London, during the months of June and July, their respective parts were assigned. Savage claimed that of assassinating the queen for himself alone, without which he thought he should not faithfully perform his sworn vow.† Babington overcame his scruples, and he consented to share the deed with Tilney, Tichbourne, Charnock, Barnwell, and Abington. By a strange mixture of vanity and fury, Babington had his picture drawn, with the six assassins grouped around him, and the inscription —

“Hi mihi sunt comites quos ipsa pericula jungunt.”

This motto, however, he exchanged, as being too explicit, for “Quorsum hæc alio properantibus,”‡—a sort of rebuke of his own weakness. So completely were the conspirators within the eye and grasp of the government; that the picture was shown to the queen §; who recognised Barnwell only, from having seen him on business from the earl of Kildare. Barnwell said, on his trial, that the queen, upon seeing him whilst she took the air on foot at Richmond, looked fearlessly in his face, and said to Hatton and others who attended her, “Am I not prettily escorted, without one man having a sword by his side?”

The invasion was to proceed concurrently with the plot against the queen's life. Babington resolved to

* Jebb's *Life of Mary, Queen of Scots*.

† *State Trials*, vol. i. Trial of Babington, &c.

‡ *Camd. An.*

§ Camden gives this only as hearsay, “Has tabulas interceptas ferunt reginæque clam ostensas.”—*Annal.*

expedite it by sending Ballard to France, and by proceeding thither himself soon after. Having procured Ballard a license to go abroad under an assumed name, he obtained for himself an introduction to Walsingham, as a person wanting a license to go to France, and willing to send the minister useful information. It was through Polly that Babington obtained access to Walsingham. How Polly accounted for his influence does not appear. By a sort of infatuation[‡] not uncommon in conspiracy, Babington trusted him, notwithstanding the cautions against him given by Naue, the queen of Scots' secretary, and his suspicious eagerness in precipitating the assassination of the queen.* Walsingham commended Babington's design to travel; told him he should have a license; and, to prevent suspicion of their relations from his being seen to make him frequent visits, proposed that Babington should reside in his house. The proposition was accepted; and the conspirator was thus constantly under the eye of the minister. Ballard was taken into custody as he was about to set out for France. Babington, alarmed, it would appear, only for the success of the plot, not for the safety of his own person, went to Savage, and said, "Ballard is taken—what remedy now?" "No remedy," said Savage, "but to kill her presently." "Then," replied Babington, "go to the court to-morrow, and execute the fact." Savage said he was too ill-clothed to be admitted to the queen's presence. Babington gave him what money he had, and his ring, to provide himself.† Walsingham removed Babington's alarm, by saying that Ballard was taken up through mistake as a seminary priest; and Babington returned to his original design of having the queen assassinated by the party of six. Babington, finding himself more strictly watched by the servants of Walsingham, had his suspicions excited. A note from the council, directing that he should be more closely observed, was brought to Scudamore, Walsingham's secretary; who opened and

* Camd. An.

† Savage's confession, State Trials, vol. i.

read it with so little care that Babington glanced at the contents over his shoulder. He affected entire security until the next night, when he escaped from a tavern, where he was supping with the persons appointed to watch him by Walsingham. Babington gave the alarm: a proclamation was at the same time issued; and the conspirators, after lurking for some days, the greater number in St. John's Wood and Harrow, were, with the exception of Winsor, apprehended, condemned, and executed. Seven out of fourteen made confession of their crime, — whether voluntarily or on the rack, remains a disputed question.

This execution of minor criminals was but a preliminary to the sacrifice of the grand victim. On Christmas-day, 1585, the queen of Scots, in a deplorable state of bodily infirmity, was removed from Tutbury to Chartley. Her gaoler, Paulet, in a letter to Walsingham, complained of his trouble in moving her baggage, consisting "in apparel, books, and *such like trash*."* On the 8th of August, 1586, she was taken from Chartley to Tixhall, and brought back on the 30th. She found on her return that her cabinets had been broken open, her papers carried off by commissioners, and her two secretaries, Naue and Curle, taken into custody.

So completely was the queen of Scots cut off from all communication with the world, that she knew nothing of the apprehension of Babington and his accomplices, when it was the common theme of the people. She was informed for the first time by sir Thomas Gorges, who had been sent for the purpose. Acting doubtless upon his instructions to take her by surprise, he told her the news abruptly, as she was setting out in the morning from Chartley to take an airing, as she supposed, without the bounds of her prison. She was conducted by daily stages from the house of one gentleman to another, under pretence of doing her honour, without the remotest idea of her destination, until she found

* Paulet to Walsingham, MSS. State Paper Office, cited by Chalmers. Life of Mary, Queen of Scots.

herself, on the 26th of September, lodged within the fatal walls of Fotheringay Castle. At Fotheringay she continued ignorant of the storm already gathered above her head. The council of Elizabeth meantime had been deliberating what should be her doom. Some would have her committed to closer confinement, which, with her bodily infirmities, would soon destroy her; others would have her despatched by poison. The recommendation of poison is ascribed to Leicester*, and the practice was generally supposed familiar to him. This minion of Elizabeth, who combined the want of capacity, courage, and every virtue, with an utter profligacy of life, affected puritanism, and employed in his letters the scriptural vocabulary and tone of that sect. Finding Walsingham averse to the use of poison, he sent a divine to satisfy him of its Christian lawfulness.† Both the slow torture of close confinement, and the quick despatch by poison, were abandoned; and it was resolved to proceed against her by criminal trial.

A new question is stated to have arisen in the council — whether she should be arraigned under the 25th Edward III., or the 27th Elizabeth. The latter, as might be expected, was preferred. It is strange that any doubt should have arisen, when the statute was passed for the very purpose of forfeiting her life. The final resolution was to proceed against her by commission, under the 27th of Elizabeth, by the style and title of Mary Stuart, daughter and heir of James VI. king of Scots, and commonly called queen of Scots and dowager of France. Paulet meanwhile, “in case he heard any noise or disturbance in her lodgings, or in the place where she was, had orders to kill her, without waiting for any further power or command; and, in fact, upon the chimney of her room taking fire, and his imagining it had been done by design to serve for a signal, he actually appointed four of his servants (who afterwards confessed it) to kill her in her antechamber

* Camd. An.

† Ibid.

if she made the least offer to escape, or to get out of the house of Fotheringay." *

The joy of Elizabeth, when her victim was safely lodged at the last stage of her captivity and life, knew no bounds. "Amias, my most faithful servant, God reward thee!" is the opening of her letter to the obdurate gaoler. Forty-two commissioners † were appointed by her to proceed to Fotheringay. Thirty of these arrived on the 11th of October. Next day they sent Mildmay, Powlet, and Barker—the last a public notary—to place in the hands of the queen of Scots a letter from Elizabeth, charging her with being accessory to the conspiracy of Babington, and informing her of the commission issued for her trial. She read the letter with composure, and replied to those who presented it with firmness and dignity,—"That it grieved her to find her most dear sister misinformed of her; that she was kept in prison until she was wholly deprived of the use of her limbs, though she had offered the most reasonable conditions for her liberty; that she was forewarned of her danger, but did not expect death from one so nearly allied to her in blood; that it seemed strange to her the queen should command her to appear personally, when she was an absolute [independent] queen; that she would never do that which would prejudice her own majesty, and the majesty of other princes, and of her son; that her mind was not dejected, nor would she sink under calamity; that the laws of England were unknown to her, she was destitute of counsel, her papers were taken away, and no man dared step forth as her advocate; that she had excited no man against the queen; but that she denied not having recommended herself and her cause to foreign princes." The messengers returned with her answer; and came back next day to ask, in the name of the commissioners, whether she persisted in it. She replied that she did, and wished only to add,—“That whereas

* Blackwood, cited by Carte (Gen. Hist. book xix.) as a grave, learned, and respectable author, who had great opportunities of knowing the truth of these matters.

† Their names will be found in Camden and the State Trials.

the queen had written she was subject to the laws of England, because she lived under their protection, she would answer that she came to England to crave aid, and had ever since been detained in prison, and had not the protection of the laws; nay, more, that she never could understand from any man what manner of laws those were." There is in the last observation equal justice and finesse. She had scarcely known any other law in England than the despotic hatred of Elizabeth.

In the evening of the same day, "there came to her certain selected persons from among the commissioners, with men learned in the civil and canon law."*—The chancellor (Bromley) and treasurer (Burleigh) recommended to her, "with fair words," to answer the charges; and, upon her refusal, declared that they had authority to proceed against her as if absent. She rejoined, that she would die a thousand deaths rather than admit herself a subject; but that she was willing to answer before a full parliament—not before commissioners who had already forejudged her,—bade the commissioners look to their consciences, and reminded them that the theatre of the world was much wider than the kingdom of England. The list of the names of her judges was submitted to her: she looked over it, and made no objection; but protested against the law, as made expressly to entrap and destroy her. "We will, nevertheless," said Burleigh, "proceed against you tomorrow as absent and contumax."—She replied, "Search your consciences, look to your honour, and God reward you and yours for your judgment upon me."—"If," said Hatton, "you are innocent, you have nothing to fear; but, by avoiding a trial, you stain your reputation with an eternal blot." This artful speech, amplified and repeated, shook her resolution; and she consented to appear the next day (October 14.), "out of a desire to clear her innocence, provided her protest against all subjection were received and allowed." This was refused; but her protest, and the chancellor's refusal to

* State Trials, vol. i. Proceedings against Mary Queen of Scots.

receive it, as derogatory to the law of England, were recorded in writing.

It is impossible to read without admiration, in the minute records of the trial, the self-possessed, prompt, clear, and sagacious replies and remarks by which this forlorn woman defended herself against the most expert lawyers and politicians of the age; who, instead of examining her as judges, pressed her with the unscrupulous ingenuity of enemies. Their spirit may be collected from the fact that Burleigh, one of her judges, published at the very moment, "A Note of the Indignities and Wrongs done and offered by the Queen of Scots to the Queen's Majesty;" beginning with her assumption of the royal arms in France, when she was the wife of the dauphin, son of Henry II.,—and ending with Babington's conspiracy. No pettifogging advocate could employ falsehood and sophistry with more license than this statesman, acting in the sacred character of a judge.*

The commissioners assembled in the presence-chamber of the castle on the 14th of October. At the upper end of the chamber stood a canopied vacant chair, for the queen of England; and opposite to it a chair to be occupied by the queen of Scots. After a preliminary debate between the commissioners and the prisoner, in which she repeated her objections to the jurisdiction and to the statute, and urged her rights as an independent queen, the circumstances under which she had come into England, and the treatment which she had received,—all stated by her with unabated self-possession,—the queen's sergeant, Gandy, opened the case against her, with a history of the conspiracy of Babington.

The essence of the accusation consisted in an alleged correspondence with Babington and persons in foreign countries, proving her participation in a plot to produce invasion and rebellion, and to assassinate the queen. In support of the charge, the queen's counsel urged Babington's confession of a correspondence between them, and

* See Murdin, *State Papers*, 584.

produced copies of three letters, one professing to be from Mary to Babington, renewing their correspondence; the second from Babington to Mary, minutely detailing the conspiracy; the third from Mary to Babington, in which she approved and co-operated by her advice in the plot. The name of the earl of Arundel being read from the last letter, she burst into tears, and said, "Alas! what has the noble house of Howard endured for my sake!"—but wiping her eyes, and collecting herself, she resumed her tone of composure and firmness. Her defence was, in substance, that many persons unknown to her had made her offers of service; that she neither excited nor encouraged any; that she, a prisoner, could neither know nor hinder what they were about; that a packet of letters, which had been kept from her almost a whole year, was put into her hands at that period, but by whom she knew not; that she knew not Babington, and had not corresponded with him; that her letters, if she wrote them, should be produced in her own hand; that if Babington wrote her a letter, it should be proved that she received it; that if Babington, or any other, affirmed it, they plainly lied, and she was not answerable for the acts of others." In reply to a letter produced as hers, in which she was represented as encouraging invasion, she said it might have been written from the possession of her alphabet of ciphers; and that from the recent attempt of an impostor in France, calling himself her son's base brother, she suspected Walsingham. The secretary rose in his place, and solemnly called God to witness that he had not done any thing unworthy of an honest man, and was wholly free from malice. She seemed satisfied with his disavowal; and desired of him, in return, to give no more credit to those who slandered her than she did to such as accused him. Letters were read to show that she had incited foreign powers to invade England; and that she entertained the design to make conveyance to the king of Spain of the crown of Scotland, and suc-

cession to that of England, if her son should not become a catholic. She replied, that it was natural for her to make efforts to obtain her liberty; that she had no kingdom to bestow, — or, if she had, she was not accountable to any for the disposal of it.

The whole weight of the evidence against the queen of Scots depended upon the oaths of her secretaries, Naue and Curle, both close prisoners in the hands of her accusers. Their depositions only were produced. They declared that the letters of their mistress were written from her dictation in French by the former, and translated into English by the latter; and that the letters to which they referred had been received by her. She replied, that her secretaries might write what she never dictated; demanded that they should be confronted with her; and declared her confidence that it either would appear they had made no such declaration, or they would not persist in it to her face. The commissioners refused to produce the witnesses.*

It is requisite to state how the correspondence was alleged to have taken place. When Gifford the seminary priest, who was in the pay of Walsingham, came over from France, he undertook to bring letters from the British fugitives to the queen of Scots. To try his means, or his fidelity, they entrusted him only with blanks made up as letters; but, upon finding that these

* Hume vindicates the refusal to produce the secretaries on three several grounds. 1st, The usage of the ministers and crown lawyers of Elizabeth's reign to refuse every indulgence beyond the strict letter of the law and settled practice of the courts. 2d, The probable absence of the secretaries from Fotheringay. 3d, "Queen Elizabeth," says he, "was willing to have allowed Curle and Naue to be produced on the trial; and writes to that purpose to Burleigh and Walsingham, in her letter of the 7th October, in Forbes's MSS. Collection. She only says, that she thinks it needless." The abusive practices of ministers and crown lawyers in a despotic reign are a strange vindication of injustice. The witnesses may have been absent from Fotheringay: but the court could have adjourned over for a day, in order to allow time for their arrival from London in Northamptonshire. Queen Elizabeth told her ministers she was willing to have them produced, *but thought it needless*. It assuredly does not require Hume's knowledge of the character of Elizabeth, and of human nature, to perceive that this artful suggestion of her thinking it needless was equivalent to a command that it should not be done. Nothing is more observable in her whole reign than the systematic endeavour to shift the odium of her own acts upon her ministers and tools. Whether the production of the two witnesses was beyond the strict letter of the law, is a question of legal construction, which it would be vain to discuss here.

had reached their destination, they confided to him important communications. Gifford, as might be expected, placed all in the hands of Walsingham. That minister sent him into Staffordshire, where the queen of Scots was then imprisoned, with a letter to her gaoler, Paulet. Walsingham desired that Paulet would connive at Gifford's bribing one of his servants to allow the letters to pass to his prisoner. Paulet would not permit his servants to be tampered with even in seeming, but allowed the spy to bribe the services of a brewer who supplied the castle. By means of this brewer the letters were conveyed, and the answers returned through a hole in the castle wall, stopped with a loose stone. All had passed through the hands of Walsingham, who unsealed, deciphered, copied, and resealed them so artfully that no suspicion was excited. One letter only of the queen to Babington, in which she renewed her correspondence with him, and his answer, are stated to have passed through the medium of "an unknown boy."

It may be observed, by way of recapitulation, that the documentary evidence consisted only of copies or dictation; that the hole in the castle wall, and "the unknown boy," are scarcely within the range of credit; that the confessions of the conspirators, produced (in copy) after their execution, are of little weight; and that of the two secretaries, whose depositions only were produced, whilst their persons were in the close custody of the producers, one (Curle) afterwards reproached Walsingham with the non-fulfilment of promises*, and the other (Naue) declared, in his vindication, addressed to the son of the queen of Scots, that he had revealed nothing, and had resolutely opposed the chief articles of accusation against his mistress, which appeared not by the record of the proceedings.†

It is clear, from other evidence, that the queen of Scots was aware, not only of the projected invasion and rebellion, but of the design against the life of

* Letter of Walsingham to Curle, in Cott. MSS. Calig. ix. 294., cited by Chalmers, in *Life of Mary, Queen of Scots*.

† Camd. An.

queen Elizabeth ; but it is extremely doubtful whether she had that identical participation for which she was condemned.* There are few judiciary proceedings, passing over the question of jurisdiction, so suspicious, and, it may be said, so tainted, as the case and proceedings against the queen of Scots.

The evidence having been gone through, she requested an adjournment, with the aid of counsel. It was refused. She next repeated her request, to be allowed to defend herself in full parliament, and was again refused. Her third request, of a personal interview with the queen, was equally vain, and would, no doubt, have proved fruitless, had it been acceded to. She rose with perfect composure, conversed apart with Burleigh, Hatton, Walsingham, and Warwick, and retired. The court adjourned to the 25th of October, at the Star-chamber in Westminster.

On that day the commissioners accordingly re-assembled, with the exception of Warwick and Shrewsbury, and pronounced sentence of death against the queen of Scots, " as accessory to Babington's plot, and as having compassed divers matters tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of the person of queen Elizabeth, contrary to the statute in the commission specified." The commissioners and judges at the same time published

*See letters to Mary, Queen of Scots, from Charles Paget and Thomas Morgan, in Murdin's State Papers. Morgan, in a letter to her dated July 4th, says, " There is one Ballard, a priest of much travel in that country, and well disposed to your service, which he is like to offer your majesty ; for the which, if he do so, you may thank him with few lines. Yet I must tell your majesty, for the discharge of my own duty and service to your majesty, *that the said Ballard followeth some matters of consequence there, the issue of which is uncertain.* Wherefore, as long as these labours of his and matters be in hand, it is not for your majesty's service to hold any intelligence with him at all, for fear lest he or his partners be discovered, and they, by pains or other accidents, discover your majesty afterwards to have had intelligence with them ; and I have specially warned the said Ballard not to deal at any hand with your majesty as long as he followeth the affairs that he and others have in hand."¹ Murdin State Papers, 527. This passage proves that Mary was aware of the design against Elizabeth ; but, at the same time, goes strongly to negative the case brought forward against her by Walsingham and Cecil. Is it credible that, with this systematic design of the conspirators to hold no communication with Mary which might compromise her, Babington should yet write her gratuitously (for she could not co-operate) a minute account of the conspiracy, which proved so convenient to her accusers and enemies ?

a declaration, that the sentence did not derogate from James, king of Scots, in his title and honour, and he was in the same place, degree, and right as if the said sentence had never been pronounced.*

Mary had a presentiment of her fate before the sentence was yet proclaimed. Paulet writes to Walsingham, that in a conversation with him, after asking the names of several commissioners, whom she distinguished by the places in which they had sat during the trial, she remarked casually, that "history made mention how the realm of England was used to shed royal blood," and then dropped the conversation.†

Elizabeth had now her prey completely in her talons. She endeavoured to mask her purpose by a show of reluctance and regret; but her dissimulation sometimes gave way to the fierceness of her instinct. Her ministers entreated her for the sake of religion, the state, and her precious life, to sign the warrant. She put them off with expressions of hesitation and regret. Both houses of parliament, summoned extraordinarily, made the same prayer. The house of commons, through their speaker supported it with examples from the Bible, of rulers who had incurred God's vengeance by sparing the lives of their enemies. These very men had been loud in their execrations of the popish impiety and cruelty which had made religion a motive for the massacre of St. Bartholomew: yet they themselves would now steep the Scriptures in blood! Elizabeth replied in a tone of hypocrisy, as detestable as the ferocity of her petitioners, that she had an extreme repugnance to take the life of the criminal; and that she wished the two houses could discover some other mode of disposing of her, consistent with the safety of religion and the state, — and threw out to them, at the same time, the deadly suggestion that she had discovered another plot to assassinate her within a month. The two houses re-considered their petition, could find no other mode than death, repeated their prayer for blood,

* Camd. An.

† Ibid. and MSS. State Paper Office.

and were again put off with an answer which may be called oracular for its ambiguity and imposture. "If," said she, "I should say I will not comply with your prayer, I might say more than I mean; and if I should say I will do it, I might plunge myself into dangers as great as those from which you would protect me." In compliance with their request, however, she published the sentence by proclamation. The inhabitants of London illuminated their houses for joy, and the church bells rang merry peals for twenty-four hours!*

Lord Buckhurst and Beale, clerk of the council, were sent to notify her fate to the queen of Scots. She received the message with not merely firmness but cheerfulness, because she said her troubles were about to end. Sir Amias Paulet divested her of every ensign of royalty, and stripped her chair of its canopy of state. This too she bore with tranquillity. She made a last and vain, but not weak, appeal to Elizabeth. In a letter dated the 19th of December, she assures her who, after depriving her during nineteen years of liberty, was about to deprive her of life, "that she cherished no resentment towards her; that she did not deprecate death; that she asked only to be put to death, not in private, but publicly before her servants and other witnesses; that her remains might be conveyed for interment to France; that her faithful attendants who had shared her fate should be permitted to enjoy her bequests to them, and proceed in safety whither they pleased." Elizabeth returned no answer; but it is doubtful whether the letter reached her.

The king of France, meantime, had sent over Bellièvre as special envoy to intercede with Elizabeth for Mary's life. It has been stated that the envoy had secret instructions from Henry, out of hatred to her relatives the Guises, to solicit, not her life, but her death. The vain display of pedant erudition and historic example which he employed in his address to Elizabeth would bring

* *Advis et mémoire de ce qui à été fait, par M. de Bellièvre, &c.* See Appendix N.

his good faith into question, if it were not the style of the age.* But he appears to have exerted himself with fidelity and zeal, and gives a striking description of the artifices employed by Elizabeth to elude his application. "She deferred," the writer of the report of his mission says, "with infinite malice, giving him audience for several days, under the pretence that some of his suite had died on the way of the plague, and that some unknown persons came over with him to kill her. On the 7th of December she sent for him to Richmond, and received him seated on her throne, surrounded by the chief nobles of the kingdom. He remonstrated in detail against the right of Elizabeth over the life of Mary, and urged reasons of expediency to spare her life. The queen replied in good French, point by point, with signs of strong emotion in her countenance, and said that the queen of Scots had three times conspired against her life. Bellièvre said that Henry III. pledged his word, and the duke of Guise would give his sons as hostages to Elizabeth, for the future conduct of the queen of Scots, if her life were spared.† Elizabeth replied in a word, that such guarantees would little avail her when she was dead.‡ The ambassador returned to London, waited several days for an answer, and, receiving none, intimated to Elizabeth that, as she had proclaimed the sentence, he had no object in waiting, and wished for his passport. Not receiving his passport, he wrote again. The queen, under pretence of indisposition, would not be seen; and he caused his letter to be placed in the hands of Walsingham, who undertook to send an answer next day. A verbal answer came, granting a delay of twelve days. Bellièvre sent immediately to his master, received an answer two days beyond the time, and was summoned by Elizabeth to her presence at Greenwich, on the 6th of January, 1587. She heard him with temper till near the close

* See Carte, Gen. Hist. book xix. Thuan. Hist. lib. lxxxvi., and App. N.

† Thuan. Hist. lib. lxxxvi.

‡ "Uñq̃ verbo respondit hujusmodi cautiones ac fide-jussionē sibi mortuę nihil profuturas." — *Thuan. ubi supra.*

of his instructions, when she expressed herself in terms "almost of indignity."* Having gained nothing, he prepared to depart in two days; was requested to remain two or three days more; and on the 14th of January received his passport.

The worthless son of the unhappy queen of Scots interfered with Elizabeth through his ambassador Keith, received from her a rebuke under which he quailed, and sent two special envoys, — Melville, and the master of Gray; the latter of whom proved a traitor to his trust. After some negotiation, Melville, in an audience of Elizabeth, entreated for some delay of the execution. She replied in a fury, as she turned her back upon him, "No — not an hour!" This answer shows that she was never visited really by one touch of hesitation or humanity.

Elizabeth, as the time approached for executing the sentence, affected, and only affected, to feel a conflict of passions within her bosom. She mused and raved, and muttered to herself, *Aut fer aut feri: ne feriare feri*; — and only indulged her imagination in the display of mimic agonies.† Her ministers reiterated their cry for blood, and she pleaded her humanity; but then she added that she must, with whatever pain, consult the safety of religion, the state, and the people.

Rumours were spread that London was set on fire by the papists, that the duke of Guise was landed, that the queen of Scots had escaped, that queen Elizabeth was assassinated, — all contrived to wake the prejudices, the fears, and therefore the ferocity, of the populace against the unhappy prisoner.

It appears, however, that Elizabeth really wished to be relieved from killing her victim by her sign manual and warrant; — but she sought relief in the alternative of secret assassination. She caused the two secretaries, Walsingham and Davison, to write to Paulet and Drury, to sound them on the subject of privately despatching their prisoner. The two gaolers, from integrity or

* See Appendix N. † See Extracts from Davison's Apology, next page.
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prudence, rejected the suggestion ; upon which Elizabeth reproached them and others who had taken the association oath with perjury. " They had," she said, " promised great matters for their prince's safety, but would perform nothing ; but," she continued, " there are others who will do it for my sake."

Meantime she had ordered Davison to bring her the warrant, and signed it with a jest on Walsingham's hatred of the queen of Scots. " Go," said she, " tell all this to Walsingham, who is now sick ; though I fear he will die for sorrow when he hears it." But it will be better to cite at once the brief and authoritative account of this black transaction given in his " Apology " by Davison.*

" The queen," says he, " after the departure of the French and Scottish ambassadors, of her own motion commanded me to deliver her the warrant for executing the queen of Scots. When I had delivered it, she signed it readily with her own hand ; when she had so done, she commanded it to be sealed with the great seal of England, and, in a jesting manner, said, " Go, tell all this to Walsingham, who is now sick ; although I fear he will die for sorrow when he hears it." She added also the reasons of deferring it so long, namely, lest she might seem to have been violently or maliciously drawn thereto ; whereas, in the mean time, she was not ignorant how necessary it was. Moreover, she blamed Paulet and Drury, that they had not eased her of this care ; and wished that Walsingham would feel their pulses touching this matter. The next day, after it was under the great seal, she commanded me, by Killigrew, that it should not be done ; and when I informed her that it was done already, she found fault with such great haste, telling me, that in the judgment of some wise men, another course might be taken. I answered, that that course was always best and safest which was most just. But fearing lest she

* Lord Somers's Tracts, i. 224. State Trials, vol. i. Proceedings against W. Davison.

would lay the fault upon me, (as she had laid the putting of the duke of Norfolk to death upon the lord Burleigh,) I acquainted Hatton with the whole matter, protesting that I would not plunge myself any deeper in so great a business. He presently imparted it to lord Burleigh, and the lord Burleigh to the rest of the council, who all consented to have the execution hastened; and every one of them vowed to bear an equal share in the blame, and sent Beale away with the warrant and letters. The third day after, when, by a dream which she told of the queen of Scots' death, I perceived that she wavered in her resolution, I asked her, whether she had changed her mind? She answered, 'No; but another course,' said she, 'might have been devised;' and withal asked me whether I had received any answer from Paulet? whose letter when I had showed her, wherein he flatly refused to undertake that which stood not with honour and justice, she, waxing angry, accused him and others (who had bound themselves by the association) of perjury, and breach of their vow, as those that had promised great matters for their prince's safety, but would perform nothing. 'Yet there are,' said she, 'who will do it for my sake.' But I showed her how dishonourable and unjust a thing this would be; and withal, into how great danger she would bring Paulet and Drury by it. For if she approved the fact, she would draw upon herself both danger and dishonour, not without censure of injustice; and if she disallowed it, she would utterly undo men of great desert, and their whole posterity. And afterwards she gave me a light check, the same day that the queen of Scots was executed, because she was not yet put to death."*

The death-warrant meanwhile was on its way to Fotheringay castle. The earls of Shrewsbury, Kent, Cumberland, and Derby, and the clerk of the council Beale, arrived on the 7th, in the evening, to witness the

* For further particulars of Elizabeth's tampering with Paulet and Drury, see *State Trials*, vol. i. Arraignment of W. Davison, note, p. 1139. et seq.

execution of the queen of Scots next day. On their arrival, they informed her that she must prepare to die. She heard the warning without emotion, laid her hand upon a New Testament on her table, and solemnly protested that she had not devised or excited to the death of Elizabeth.* Her only request to them was that she should be allowed the attendance of her confessor. They refused her this sacred consolation and support of humanity in the last hour, with the mockery of a proposal that Fletcher, dean of Peterborough, "a pious and learned divine," should convert her to the true faith. She declined his services; upon which the earl of Kent had the brutality to say to her, "Your death will be the life of our religion, as your life would be its death."

Upon their departure, she supped in her usual manner sparingly, bade her weeping servants rather rejoice than mourn that her sorrows were about to end, exchanged forgiveness with them, applied herself to writing letters and her will, went to bed at her usual time, slept some hours, and spent the remainder of the night in prayer. Anticipating that she might be denied the rites of her religion, she was provided with the sacrament consecrated by Pius V., and ministered it to herself.†

She rose early on the fatal morning of the 8th; dressed herself with care, as for a festival; distributed her bequests among her servants; and remained at prayer in her oratory or chapel until eight o'clock. At that hour the sheriff summoned her to the scaffold. She answered that she was ready; and attended him with a serene countenance, leaning on two of her guards, not from weakness of soul, but from having lost in her long captivity the use of her limbs. Her steward, sir Andrew Melville, meeting her on her way, fell on his knees, wrung his hands, and cried aloud, "Ah! madam,

* This protestation negatives the accusation and evidence upon which she was tried and condemned; but it is consistent with the vague knowledge which it has been shown she possessed of the design against Elizabeth's life. See note, p. 317.

† This singular incident has been introduced by Schiller on the stage, in his tragedy of *Mary Queen of Scots*.

was ever man the bearer of such heavy tidings as I must bear to my native country, that I saw my gracious queen and mistress beheaded in England!"—"Rather rejoice," said she, "my faithful servant, that the troubles of Mary Stewart are about to end." She made a request that her servants might be permitted to attend her in her last hour, and had some difficulty in obtaining it. "They will disturb by their cries," said the earl of Kent. "My lord, I give my word, though it be but dead," said she, "that they will not so offend; but, poor souls! it will be a consolation to them to bid their mistress a last farewell." Having arrived at a second hall in the castle, she beheld the scaffold, the executioner, the axe, the block, her chair, — and beheld them undismayed. The warrant having been read, she employed herself in prayer. The dean of Peterborough went up to her, and, under colour of pious exhortation, assailed her in a strain of savage bigotry, or, with motives still more vile, made his calling a pretence for ministering to the passions of the murderess-queen. He told her, "that the queen of England had on this occasion shown a tender care of her; and, notwithstanding the punishment justly to be inflicted on her for her manifold trespasses, was determined to use every expedient for saving her soul from that destruction with which it was so nearly threatened: that she was now standing upon the brink of eternity, and had no other means of escaping endless perdition, than by repenting her former wickedness, by justifying the sentence pronounced against her, by acknowledging the queen's favours, and by exerting a true and lively faith in Christ Jesus: that the Scriptures were the only rule of doctrine, the merits of Christ the only means of salvation; and if she trusted in the inventions or devices of men, she must expect in an instant to fall into utter darkness, into a place where shall be weeping, howling, and gnashing of teeth: that the hand of death was upon her, the axe was laid to the root of the tree, the throne of the great Judge of heaven

was erected, the book of her life was spread wide, and the particular sentence and judgment was ready to be pronounced upon her: and that it was now, during this important moment, in her choice, either to rise to the resurrection of life, and hear that joyful salutation, "Come, ye blessed of my Father;" or to share the resurrection of condemnation, replete with sorrow and anguish; and to suffer that dreadful denunciation, "Go, ye cursed, into everlasting fire."*

She interrupted and entreated him several times, declaring that she was born and would die in the ancient faith; but he persisted, bade her repent of her past wickedness, and would have continued to vent upon her the rancour of his bile and bigotry, if the earl of Kent, rude as he was, and his colleague the earl of Shrewsbury, had not induced him to desist. The earl of Kent observing that she prayed with a crucifix in her arms, bade her throw away "such popish trumpery, and have Christ in her heart, not in her hands;" she replied, "it was difficult to hold that image in her hands without being touched with compunction in her heart." She wore a veil which hung to the ground. Her two women began to prepare her for the block, and the executioners thought it their business to interfere. She said, with a smile, "she was not accustomed to go through her toilet before so large a company, and not used to be served by such valets." All now was ready: her servants burst into tears; she put her finger on her lip in token of silence, gave them her blessing, asked their prayers, had a handkerchief placed over her eyes, laid her head upon the block without trepidation, and that head, once the most admired and beautiful in the world, was severed from her shoulders at two blows. The executioner held it up, still convulsed and streaming. One voice cried, "So perish all queen Elizabeth's enemies!" It was the voice, not of the executioner, but of the dean of Peterborough. None but the earl of Kent gave the response of "Amen!" All

* MS. cited by Hume.

others wept or sobbed in speechless distress. Thus died Mary queen of Scots, in the nineteenth year of her captivity, and forty-fifth of her age, having redeemed by the wrongs and sufferings of her life, and the heroism of her death, her frailties, and, if she committed it, her single crime. Supposing that she abandoned herself to Bothwell, and shared or connived at the death of Darnley, she had all the palliation, whatever it be, which can be derived from finding herself bound to a man who merited her utmost contempt and hatred. She had the virtues and weaknesses of an impassioned temperament, but no inveterate vice, no instinctive malignity or meanness. Every accomplishment and grace of mind was combined in her, with a form of the most exquisite feminine beauty. In more auspicious circumstances she would have adorned nature and her age. It was her misfortune to be cast among the fierce elements of social barbarism, and the still more savage furies of religious fanaticism. She might yet have escaped crime and misery, if her superiorities had not provoked the envious hatred of a rival, cruel, and more powerful queen.

Upon the right assumed by Elizabeth over her liberty and life there is now but one opinion. She sought protection of Elizabeth voluntarily, or because she had no other resource. In either case, the right asserted by Elizabeth over her was but that of superior power. If she came because she had no other asylum to fly to, her claims and her person were but the more sacred. Like one escaping from shipwreck, she sought safety on the first shore that presented itself. But persons thrown by the chance or necessity of the elements even upon a shore where their lives are proscribed, are held absolved from the operation of the proscribing law. "Ils sont naufrages, donc incondamnables," is an enthymem of the law of nature, admitted even by the French revolutionists amid the fury of their proscriptions.*

* * "Plaidoyer de Prugnon pour les naufrages de Calais." — *Barreau François*.

It will be objected that the queen of Scots, by participating in a conspiracy against the life of Elizabeth, forfeited to Elizabeth her own life, on the principle of retributive justice. Had the queen of Scots been at large in England, sharing with the English community the protection of the laws and confidence of the state, her conspiring against the sovereign would be a feasible, yet not a conclusive case against her. But Elizabeth, by arbitrarily taking from her the freedom, took from her also the reciprocal responsibility of her actions; and Elizabeth's right thus acquired over her prisoner, was but the right of the bandit and the pirate over a conspiring captive.

The great operating cause of the execution of the queen of Scots, in the mind of Elizabeth's council, was, doubtless, the security of the established religion, and protestant succession to the throne; grand objects, certainly, and demanding every sacrifice, except that which is most abhorrent to religion, and yet which has been too commonly offered up at its shrine, — the sacrifice of human blood.

Elizabeth, upon learning the execution of the queen of Scots, for which she was so well and eagerly prepared, burlesqued surprise and grief with outrageous hypocrisy, clothed herself and her court in mourning, spent her time in solitude and tears, declared that the warrant was sent off without her knowledge, protested that she never intended the death of her dear kinswoman, banished Cecil from her presence, ruined her dupe Davison by imprisonment and a fine of 10,000*l.*, wrote a letter of pretended sorrow and perfidious condolence to the son of her victim, succeeded in imposing silence and submission upon his craven and unfilial heart, but neither deceived nor silenced the opinion of the world.

It is a relief to turn to the brighter side of Elizabeth's reign and character in her foreign policy. The treachery of the duke of Anjou plunged the Low Countries into extreme confusion and distress. He consented after some time to restore the places which he had suc-

ceeded in surprising; but those towns, when the French withdrew, became an easy prey to the prince of Parma. The necessity of foreign protection, and of a chief under whom parties would co-operate, must have been great indeed, when the prince of Orange advised a reconciliation between the states and Anjou. There was, he said, no alternative between risking the government again in the hands of the duke of Anjou, and returning under the yoke of Spain.* It required implicit confidence in the intelligence and integrity of that great patriot, to commit the fortunes of the people to the hands of one who had so flagrantly betrayed his trust; and this confidence his country reposed in the prince of Orange. The death of Anjou put an end to the arrangement when the terms were nearly concluded, and turned the eyes of the states to him whose moderation alone had prevented his having been long since constituted chief of the republic.

The prince of Orange was about to be installed first magistrate of his country, when the vengeance of Philip reached him by the hand of an assassin. It was, perhaps, scarcely possible for him to escape assassination, after he had been marked out for it by one who commanded assassins by the double action of fanaticism and the love of gold. He had been severely wounded in the castle of Antwerp, on the 18th of March, 1582, by a miscreant named Jaurigni, acting under the influence of bigotry and the desire of gain. On the morning of the 10th of July, 1584, five assassins of different nations, — a Frenchman, a German, an Englishman, a Scotchman, a Burgundian, — without concert, each supposing himself the sole depository of their common purpose, watched for his life; and if he had not excluded Spaniards and Italians from access to his person, there would have been on the lists at least two more. This statement is averred by the Jesuit Strada†, an incontrovertible authority on the subject. The Burgundian, named Balthazar Gerard, snatched the prize of murder and mar-

* Grot. An. lib. iv.

† Strad. de Bell. Belg. dec. ii. lib. v.

tyrdom from his competitors on the 10th of July, at Delft. He had been in the service of the duke of Anjou ; brought letters from France to the prince of Orange ; found easy access to his house, under the pretence of asking for the answers to bear back to France ; and, taking advantage of the prince's passing from his dining-room to another apartment, discharged a pistol loaded with three bullets into his breast. He escaped the first guard, but was taken by the next. Upon being questioned as to his instigators or accomplices, he said he had none, — he acted by a divine inspiration.* New and horrible tortures were invented for him. He bore unutterable, inconceivable agonies, with a fortitude more than human, during four days : such is the force of diseased imagination over physical pain. The same jesuit, Strada, who admires his fortitude, and all but admires his crime, says, that he entertained the design of killing the prince of Orange from the moment of the prince's being proscribed by Philip, offered himself for the purpose to the prince of Parma, was rejected *as incompetent*, and yet persevered.† The prince of Parma's rejection of his services, on the mere ground of his incapacity, compromises that prince's reputation‡, but can surprise no one who considers the genius of the sixteenth century. The atrocious policy of that age put on the mask of religion to sanctify crime, in Italy, in France, in Spain, and — witness the case of the queen of Scots — in England. With Pius and Sextus, Catherine of Medicis and Philip II., the executive means were massacre and assassination ; with Elizabeth, the sword of justice ; and the crime in her case was not extenuated, but aggravated.

There are few nobler characters than William of Nassau, the deliverer of his country and founder of the republic of the United Provinces. Subjected to extraordinary casualties from his early youth, he acquired a

* Strad. de Bell. Belg. dec. ii. lib. v.

† " Operam in id suam Parmensi obtulerat, spretusque ut impar, haud desistit tamen." — Strad. dec. ii. lib. v.

‡ It would appear, from other authorities, that the prince of Parma was more directly implicated. See Hist. of the Netherlands, CAR. CYC.

fund of enlightened piety and an elevation of soul, which fortune, prosperous or adverse, could not move.* Engaged in a cause full of difficulties and dangers, thwarted and defamed by envious and unworthy competitors and the blind injustice of the populace, he was tolerant of human infirmity, and loved the people.†

The prince of Parma, upon the death of William, made insidious offers of peace, which the Batavians in their extremity, says Grotius, had the admirable constancy to reject. Messages of consolation and promises of support were received from the king of France and queen of England. It became a matter of deliberation from which of the two nations protection should be solicited: the French were odious for their government in Italy, the English for their government in Ireland.‡ Meanwhile, the prince of Parma was making rapid conquests: he took by force, stratagem, or famine, several of the towns and fortresses which formed the chief strength of the states out of Holland and Zealand, and began the blockade of Antwerp. The states could neither relieve Antwerp, nor had they troops to divert the attention of the prince of Parma, by attacking him in any other quarter. Their only hope was in foreign aid. From the reluctance of Elizabeth to embark frankly in the war, and even at her suggestion, application was made for assistance in men to Henry III. of France, whilst she promised aid in subsidies.§ The king of France, pressed by the league, which was secretly, and at this time strenuously, supported by Philip, was utterly powerless for any purpose beyond, and was reduced to extremity even within his kingdom. He received the deputies kindly, and dismissed them with a recommendation to the queen of England.|| On the 9th of July, 1585, a deputation

* Grot. An. lib. iv.

† Id. ibid.

‡ Id. ibid.

§ Ibid. Camden says, that Elizabeth dissuaded the states from applying to France; but Grotius is more likely to be correct. She had no longer to fear foreign conquest from Henry, at a moment when he was almost overwhelmed by the league. It would be her interest, and was doubtless her policy, to embark the king of France in open war with Philip.

|| Ibid.

from the states made a formal offer of the sovereignty to Elizabeth at Greenwich, with the condition that she should undertake to defend them against the Spaniards. She declined the sovereignty on the ground of her being advanced in years, childless, and without a prince of her house by whom the government might be exercised. It seems doubtful whether an unambitious prudence, the reluctance to give encouragement to subjects who had deposed their sovereign, or a parsimonious dread of taking upon her the whole charge of the war, and a mistaken estimate of the resources of the provinces within themselves, determined her to reject so tempting an accession to her dominion. The true motive in the actions of princes and governments lies sometimes on the surface. It is possible that her want of issue and her age really decided her. There was selfishness, but there was also reason, in not troubling her declining years, to increase the inheritance of the son of the queen of Scots. The fear of Philip entered not into her consideration: she promised the states such aids, in men and money, as to bring her into conflict with his resentment and his power. A treaty was entered into with them through the deputation and their resident envoy, Gryse, grand bailiff of Bruges. It bound the queen to aid them with 5000 foot and 1000 horse; the levy, transport, and pay of which should be reimbursed to her at the end of the war. Flushing, Ramekens, and Brille were to be placed in her hands as a security. The commander-in-chief of the auxiliaries was to be governor-general, and admitted, with two other English subjects chosen by the queen, into the council of state. The respective parties could enter into no treaty but by joint consent. The ports on both sides were to be reciprocally free. The naval force for the common defence was to be kept up in equal amount of ships at the common charge, but commanded by the high admiral of England.

This treaty re-animated the courage and hopes of the Netherlanders. So great was the joy of the state

and people of Zealand, that a coin was struck on the occasion, with the arms of the province, the figure of a lion emerging from the waves, and the inscription "*Luctor et emergo*," on one side; the arms of their several towns, and the inscription "*Authore Deo, favente Regina*," on the other. Sir John Norreys was despatched immediately with 4000 men to relieve Antwerp. He arrived too late. After a siege and defence of thirteen months, maintained with a degree of courage, science, and perseverance, which placed the prince of Parma in the first rank of the captains of his time, and obtained for St. Aldegonde the governor, and the people of Antwerp, the sympathy and admiration of Europe, the town surrendered, on the 17th of August, by an honourable capitulation.

Elizabeth appointed to the command in chief of the expedition and government of the Netherlands her favourite, the earl of Leicester: a man notorious not only for incapacity, but cowardice, was thus opposed to the prince of Parma. The infatuation of a woman may be understood and pitied; but it is extraordinary that her counsellors, experienced, wise, and well aware of his incompetency, should have hazarded the honour and safety of their country in his hands. The motive of wishing to be relieved from his presence at court * may account for their conduct, but degrades them from statesmen to intriguers.

Leicester left England with a retinue of individuals the most conspicuous for rank and reputation in the kingdom, and had with him a corps of noblemen and gentlemen 500 strong. On the 10th of December he landed at Flushing, which had been placed in the hands of the queen pursuant to the treaty. He was received there by the English governor, the celebrated sir Philip Sidney, his nephew, amidst the most explicit demonstrations of their joy by the people. On his arrival, he was not a little piqued to find the young prince Maurice of Nassau, second son of the prince of Orange, whose

* Cam. Ann.

eldest son was still a prisoner in Spain, appointed by the states governor, admiral, and captain-general of Holland, Zealand, and West Friesland. To remove his discontent, they made him governor-general of the Low Countries, with new and extraordinary powers. His authority was declared "supreme and absolute jointly with the council of state." The incapable and presumptuous minion spurned this last limitation. It was thought expedient to conciliate him, by declaring that the limitation subjected the council to him, not him to the council. He had more power than had been invested in any governor of Philip II. or Charles V. His vanity was so overweening and insatiable, that he would have nothing short of the emblems as well as the functions of sovereignty; and, to gratify him, his arms were put upon the great and lesser seals of the states. But his presumption was soon rebuked and trampled upon by Elizabeth. She learned the extent of power conferred on him with indignation, both against the states and Leicester, to whom she respectively addressed letters by Heneage, her vice-chamberlain. To Leicester she says, "We little thought that one whom we raised from the dust would thus condemn our orders; and we command you, on your allegiance to us, to do as shall be made known to you in our name by our vice-chamberlain, the bearer hereof." To the states she wrote, that they had treated her with contumely, in conferring upon Leicester, her subject, and without consulting her, the sovereignty which she had declined for herself; and admonished them to reduce him instantly from his absolute authority within the limits which she had prescribed. The states excused themselves by declaring, that notwithstanding the word "absolute," the supreme power was still, in its integrity, vested in the people, and that the power of Leicester was revocable; but they entreated her, for the public safety and tranquillity, not to insist on their revoking it at that moment. Leicester, mean as he was insolent, crouched under the queen's

letter with abject hypocrisy ; and, after a short time, she forgot her resentment and its cause.* The facility with which Elizabeth was appeased, renders it probable that her displeasure was a matter not of state policy, but of personal feeling. The obnoxious authority of Leicester hardly could, and in point of fact did not, engage her more deeply in the cause of the Netherlands than the treaty which she had made, and the aid which she had given : were this her motive, she would have had his power revoked or limited. It seems to have been an effusion of the jealous despotism of her temper, which vented itself upon her favourites more even than upon others. It was her habit to humiliate them, in the intoxication of their favour and honours, by reminding them of " the dust," as she expressed it, from which she had raised them. She seems to have regarded in a favourite, and particularly in Leicester, a mere animal like her lap-dog, which she might indulge or spurn at her pleasure or caprice, without permitting him ever to forget his distance in the scale of nature.

Leicester's mischievous incapacity soon became apparent. He issued his proclamations without regard to their legality or effects. He restricted traffic, and laid on imposts under pain of confiscation of property and corporal punishment. * Merchants abandoned Antwerp for the free towns of Hamburg, Bremen, and Emden. The commerce of the provinces would have been extinguished by him, if the irrepressible activity of trade, or, more properly speaking, the uncontrollable love of acquisition in man, did not infringe his ordinances and defeat his perverse counsels. Having obtained under his control the finances of the states, he not only administered them unprofitably, but applied them to the purpose of rendering the public authorities odious to the people. Surrounded by sycophants, he aspired at a supremacy like that of the prince of Orange, without considering that the same arts will not serve to become

* Cam. Ann.

the sovereign of a free people and the minion of a queen.*

His military operations were equally deplorable. Alexander Farnese, become on the death of his mother duke of Parma, resolved, in order to cover the province of Brabant, to secure the navigation of the Meuse, by possessing himself of the fortresses on its bank. Grave was invested by count Mansfield, and sustained the siege with resolution. Prince Hohenlo and sir John Norreys broke through the defences of the besiegers with conspicuous gallantry, and threw succours into the town. At a moment when reinforcements were on their way to the confederates, and Mansfield might be compelled to raise the siege, the town was unexpectedly surrendered by the governor, Van Hemart: he was, in consequence, tried and put to death for cowardice. His conduct was ascribed by some to the seductions of a woman, and his death to the intrigues or animosity of Leicester.† The capitulation of Venloo soon followed, but after a better defence. The siege of this place was chiefly distinguished by an attempt of sir Roger Williams, a Welshman, and Martin Schenck, a Frieslander, to make their way at midnight through the enemy's camp into the town. They penetrated to the tent of the duke of Parma, cutting down the sentries whom they encountered; and, upon the alarm being given, effected their retreat in safety. The duke of Parma, having taken Nuys by storm whilst the governor was negotiating a capitulation, proceeded to invest Rheinberg; whilst prince Maurice and sir Philip Sidney surprised Axel, but were defeated in a similar attempt upon Gravelines. Rheinberg was considered capable of a good defence: Colonel Morgan, a Welshman like Williams, and the first British volunteer officer who joined the standard of the Low Countries‡, and with him Schenck the

* "Arausionensis etiam exemplo ad spem dictaturæ preproperam hortantur, ipso ad omnia credulo, ut cui longa felicitate corruptum iudicium, nec satis discerneret quanto aliis artibus muliebris gratia, et in libero populo principatus quærerentur." — *Grot. Ann. lib. v.*

† *Grot. Ann. lib. v.* ‡ Sir R. Williams's Actions of the Low Countries.

Frieslander, both distinguished for their intrepidity, had thrown themselves into the town with 1000 English and 800 Low Countrymen. Leicester, after a tour of vain parade in Holland, returned to take the field, with an army of 7000 foot and 1400 horse. Too timid or weak to attempt raising the siege by attacking the duke of Parma, he proceeded, by way of a diversion, to attack Zutphen. Rheinberg, strong in its works and garrison, and in the hands of two officers of known bravery, was likely to hold out for some weeks: the duke of Parma therefore abandoned it to pursue Leicester, and relieve Zutphen. His attempt to relieve the town led to a sharp skirmish with the English, memorable only for the death of sir Philip Sidney. His horse having been killed under him, he was mounting another, when a cannon ball took him in the thigh. It is recorded of him, that whilst he lay wounded on the field, he desired that a bottle of water, which he was about to apply to his own lips; should be given to a wounded soldier who lay near him. "Give it," said he, "to this man; his want is still greater than mine." He was the nephew and presumptive heir of Leicester,—most unlike him in character,—the most accomplished gentleman of his age in every sense,—uniting every virtue with every talent,—known and honoured all over Europe,—and only in the 25th year of his age.

The duke of Parma having relieved Zutphen, so as to place it beyond the reach of capture by Leicester, went with his army into winter quarters. Leicester raised the siege, and returned to the Hague. Here he was assailed with the complaints of the states-general. They presented to him a list of grievances and malversations in every branch of the service, civil and military. He promised redress; but expressed to his sycophants his indignation that a nobleman of his rank should be controlled by shopkeepers, and that common artificers should presume to meddle with affairs of state.* He obtained influence, at the same time, over

* Grot. Ann. lib. v.

the populace through the calvinist ministers, by a great show of piety in his language and demeanour, and by the removal of Roman catholics from all places of emolument and trust.* Having thus sown the seeds of discord, he left Zealand for England, in the month of December, signalising his departure by a breach of faith. Upon the eve of sailing he committed the functions of government publicly to the council of state; but he was not long gone when it appeared, by a document privately executed by him, that he reserved to himself all power over the governors of provinces and strong places.

The inauspicious military operations of Leicester in the Low Countries, were counterbalanced by the naval successes of sir Francis Drake. That gallant freeboater had now obtained respect and renown throughout Europe. Philip II. found himself unexpectedly attacked in the West Indies. Elizabeth had no sooner resolved upon encountering the hostility of Philip by her alliance with the confederate states, than she sent out Drake, with twenty ships, and 2300 volunteers, to try his fortune in the Spanish-American seas. He took in succession, without resistance, St. Jago, St. Domingo, and Carthagena, and burned two towns on the Florida coast. No permanent conquests were made by him; but the wealth which he obtained by capture, or by ransom from the Spanish inhabitants, stimulated avarice and adventure on his return, and gave a great impulse to British colonisation. The destitute state in which he found the only British colony yet planted did not damp this spirit. Sailing by the coast of Virginia, he found the adventurers who had gone out with sir Walter Raleigh, or the survivors of them, in so wretched a state that he was prevailed upon to give them a passage home.

Leicester had carried himself as if Elizabeth were absolute sovereign of the provinces, and he her lieutenant, with unlimited powers. The ostentation with

* Grot. Ann. lib. v.

which he fasted, prayed, and received the sacrament, with his zeal against popery, made the clergy his strenuous partisans.* He intimated that Elizabeth was about to accept the sovereignty of the states; and this enlisted on his side a host of profligate adventurers, who looked only to their personal fortunes. Two persons whom he had left in the government of Dewenter, and of two forts close to Zutphen, sir William Stanley, and Rowland York, betrayed their trust, gave up the places, and went over to the Spaniards. Leicester had the support of a faction; but his insolent and incapable tyranny, joined with the treachery of those two persons whom he had appointed against the advice of the states, excited a general sentiment of dislike and discontent, not only against him, but against the English nation and name. The fortune of the Netherlands was again in the balance, and all might have been lost, if a casualty, of an afflicting nature, had not interfered. The duke of Parma was disabled from pursuing his operations by a famine in the Walloon provinces, which depopulated towns and districts, and sent famishing wolves and dogs forth to devour cattle, human creatures, and each other. Leicester's government having become intolerable, the states solicited his recall. They had already appointed prince Maurice, son of the prince of Orange, and worthy of his father, provincial stadtholder. Leicester was enraged, and the queen piqued at their complaints: she sent over lord Buckhurst to enquire into the matter. That nobleman enquired honestly, reported disadvantageously of the favourite, and was ordered by Elizabeth into confinement in his own house. Leicester, at the same time, procured the recall of sir John Norreys, against the earnest prayer of the states; went over once more to relieve Sluys, in the month of June, 1587; failed in his attempts to throw succours into the place from the sea; landed at Ostend with 5000 men; advanced to besiege Blackenburgh; and, on the advance of the duke of Parma, fell back upon Ostend, whence he retired into

* Grot. Ann. lib. v.

Zealand. It was on this occasion that sir Robert Carey visited him at Bergen-op-Zoom, in the hope of having some occasion to distinguish himself; and seeing no opportunity, declared that "a brave war and poor spirit in a commander never agree well together."* The intrigues, the ineptitude, the cowardice even of Leicester, which was freely spoken of in the Low Countries; his suspected designs to seize some strong places, and to put to death the celebrated Barnevelt, and some other patriots; above all, the fear of disoblighing the states, at a moment when England was threatened by the Spanish armada, induced Elizabeth to recall him at the latter end of November. The young prince Maurice now occupied his father's place in authority, and in the confidence of his country.

A vague rumour had pervaded Europe for some time of vast naval preparations by the king of Spain for the invasion and conquest of England. Negotiations for peace were protracted at the village of Bourbourg, near Gravelines, in the Netherlands, under the mediation of the king of Denmark, without the hope or the intention of peace on either side. Elizabeth had, in the meantime, sent out Drake once more to interrupt the preparations, and attack the ships of the king of Spain. He left England in April (1587) with four large ships, and twenty-six smaller vessels, which the merchants of London had placed at his disposal, upon the condition of sharing in his prizes. Lisbon was the grand rendezvous of the armada. It seems not improbable that he sailed with the purpose of striking at that heart of the enterprise. But, having learned from a Dutch ship which crossed him on his passage, that a richly-laden Spanish fleet was lying in the bay of Cadiz, he steered his course thither, found his information correct, and attacked the enemy with equal intrepidity and success. Six galleys which received his attack were driven by him under the shelter of the forts. He destroyed by fire 100 vessels laden with ammunition and naval

* Mem. of Robert Carey, Earl of Monmouth.

stores, and sank two galleons, one belonging to the admiral Santa Cruz, the other a vessel of Ragusa, both richly laden with provisions or merchandise. He next steered to Cape St. Vincent, took the fortresses on that promontory by capitulation, proceeded thence to the mouth of the Tagus, where he challenged Santa Cruz and his squadron without bringing them to action, and sailed for the Azores in expectation of a rich carrack from the East Indies, which became his prize. The fruits of this expedition were of present and future importance. Philip's preparations were disturbed, and his project of invasion put off to the following year; additional time was thus obtained by Elizabeth for defence; a fresh impulse was given to naval and mercantile enterprise; the English sailors learned to behold without fear of disadvantage the towering bulk of the Spanish vessels; the produce and papers found on board the East India prize initiated the English in the commerce of Asia.

Philip continued, unabated, on a vast scale of materials and territory, the preparations of an expedition the most gigantic which had yet been launched upon the sea. The ports of Spain, Portugal, Naples, Sicily, the Low Countries, so far as these last were under his dominion, echoed with the labours of artisans building ships, casting guns, or preparing ammunition, and with the conveyance of provisions and naval stores, whilst an army of invasion of 30,000 men — a large invading force in those days — was collected under distinguished captains from the Peninsula, Italy, and Germany, to be placed under the duke of Parma as commander-in-chief. Sixtus V. revived the bulls of excommunication of Pius V. and Gregory XIII. against Elizabeth, and offered the sovereignty of England as the conqueror's prize. Several catholic princes and nobles of the different states of Europe flocked as volunteers to the standard of the duke of Parma, some impelled by the enthusiasm of religion, others by that of military glory. The Spaniards looked upon their conquest as already made. They recalled to memory the easy conquests of England

by the Saxons, the Danes, and the Normans* ; saw *between them and their triumph only the gaining of two battles, one at sea, the other on land ; and, in the security of victory, denominated their armament the "Invincible Armada."*

The queen of England beheld the preparations, and heard the vauntings of the enemy with a resolution worthy of the occasion and her cause. Greatly inferior in material, she was as much superior to the Spaniards in moral force. The sacred sentiment of affection even to a country in which they were oppressed, extinguished the resentments or bigotry of the catholics. They joined the rest of their countrymen, heart and hand, against foreign domination ; and Elizabeth had what some of her advisers called the temerity, but what was really the enlightened and courageous, if not generous prudence, to confide in them. Every class of the people not only contributed liberally to the queen's exchequer by loans and free gifts, but sent out vessels hired, manned, and armed, at their private charge. The main hope of the nation was in the navy. Two fleets were equipped and ready for immediate service, the one at Plymouth, under the command of lord Howard of Effingham, high admiral of England, with Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher as his lieutenants, destined to receive the shock of the armada ; the other under the command of lord Seymour, son of the protector Somerset, stationed off Dunkirk, to intercept the military part of the expedition under the duke of Parma. The military defence, in organised regular force, consisted in 80,000 men. The principal army of 35,000 foot and 2000 horse, under the command of lord Hunsdon, was destined to make head against the enemy wherever he should present himself. To this army was committed the safety and person of the queen. A force of 20,000 men was distributed along the southern coast, with orders to resist the enemy's landing, and, if unsuccessful, to fall back upon the neighbouring counties, laying waste

* Grot. Hist. lib. i.

the country as they retreated. An army of 22,000 foot and 1000 horse was stationed at Tilbury for the defence of the capital. The queen, now advanced in years, but unworn by the agitations of a long reign, displayed the chivalrous resolution of youth and manhood, and by displaying inspired it. She visited the troops, rode on horseback between the lines, and addressed to the army at Tilbury one of the most stirring specimens in existence of the rhetoric of the camp.

“ My loving people, — We have been persuaded by some that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery ; but I assure you I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear ; I have always so behaved myself, that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good will of my subjects, and therefore I am come amongst you, as you see at this time, not for my recreation and disport, but being resolved, in the midst and heat of the battle, to live or die amongst you all, to lay down for my God, and for my kingdoms, and for my people, my honour, and my blood, even in the dust. I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman ; but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England too ; and think foul scorn that Parma, or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realm ; to which, rather than any dishonour shall grow by me, I myself will take up arms ; I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already for your forwardness you have deserved rewards and crowns, and we do assure you, on the word of a prince, they shall be duly paid you. In the mean time my lieutenant-general shall be in my stead, than whom never prince commanded a more noble or worthy subject ; not doubting but by your obedience to my general, by your concord in the camp, and your valour in the field, we shall shortly have a

famous victory over those enemies of my God, of my kingdoms, and of my people."

It is melancholy to reflect, that where there was so much strength, there should also have been so much weakness. The lieutenant-general thus trusted and eulogised was Leicester.

APPENDIX A.

(MSS. Bib. du Roi. Dupuy. No. 523.)

AUDIENCE DU SIEUR DE LA BOURDAZIERE.

[No date. It follows a letter of September, 1571.]

"LE Sieur de la Bourdaziere, gentilhomme ordinaire de la chambre du Roi ayant fait supplier sa Maté. de lui donner congé d'aller a Rome pourveoir a quelques affaires," the King gave him letters to the Pope, and he obtained an audience, which is narrated.

He commences his harangue to the Pope by saying that the King's letters, in addition to the personal recommendation they contained, were intended "*par mesme moyen lui commetre creance pour faire entendre a S. S., qu'il ne doubte pas que l'arrivée de l'amyral par deca ne soit trouvée estrange et nouvelle, et que beaucoup de personnes qui n'ont parfaite lumiere sur la droite intention de sa Maté. en parleront en autant façons qu'ils se trouvent de diverses passions.*"

"Que pour en satisfaire sadicte Sainteté elle la supplie se remettre devant les yeux les moyens que sadicte Majesté a recherché et tenue pour guerir la playe et ulcere dont ce royaume a esté frappé, ny ayant espargné ny sa personne ny ceux que nature lui recommande pour les plus cheres, avec le reste, estimant par ce moyen gagner le dessus de ce mal, mais en fin ayant cogneu que le temps, et non aultre, en seroit le modérateur, et que aucuns qui estoient a la fenestre estoient bien aysés de veoir jouer le jeu aux depens de sa Majesté, elle avoit eu recours a la douce, ayant par bon advis fait et arrêté son edict de Pacification sous le benefice duquel le repos s'estoit retabli parmi ses subjects.

"Depuis lequel edict, icelui *admiral a par plusieurs fois requis et supplié* sadte. Majesté de lui permettre se venir jeter a ses pieds, et combien qu'elle eust été longtemps a s'en resoudre toutes fois enfin elle n'a peu ny voulu lui desnier ceste requeste pour estre Prince qui a toujours aimé ses subjects et ouvert la porte a chacun de meriter sa bon grace, chasser la deffiance parmi eux et les nourrir entot l'obeissance qu'ils lui doivent pour fuir la (the original MS. illegible) des miseres passees, &c. Ne veut sa Maté. penser que sa Sainteté. entre en

aucun soupçon qu'elle soit pour se refroidir de la vray pieté et ardent zele au sousteniment de la sainte foi et religion Catholique . . . d'autant que tous ses voeux ne tendent a aucun fin qu'a la restauration des ruines qui sont par nos pechez advenue en l'Eglise de Dieu, et voudroit que son cœur et intention se peussent veoir et reconnoistre a l'œil naturel d'autant que l'on y remarqueroit tout la netleté et pureté que l'on y scauroit desirer," &c.

APPENDIX B.

Note p. 89. ALLEN's "REPLY" TO LINGARD's "VINDICATION."

THE correspondence of cardinal d'Ossat, though not an uncommon book, is not in the hands of every one. For the satisfaction of my readers, I have, therefore, extracted from it the passages referred to in the text.

Cardinal d'Ossat relates to Villeroy, secretary of state to Henry IV., in a letter of the 22d of September, 1599, that, having had an audience of the pope on the 13th of the month, he had stated to his holiness, in discussing with him the mode of procedure to be adopted in investigating the allegations for the divorce, "Et quant au fait, outre que toutes les choses par nous alléguées étoient vraisemblables, S. S. en avoit déjà une grande lumière, et nous avoit elle-même appris la cause que le roi Charles IX., et la reine sa mère, avoient eue de contraindre la reine Marguerite à ce mariage;" in explanation of which, he enters into the following details, for the information of Villeroy, in the concluding part of his letter: —

"Je vous ai mis ci-dessus, comme j'avois dit au pape, entre autres choses, qu'il nous avoit appris lui-même la cause, que ce roi Charles IX., et la reine sa mère, avoient eue de contraindre la reine Marguerite à ce mariage; et que je vous expliquerois cela en quelque autre endroit de cette lettre. Vous saurez donc, s'il vous plaît, qu'une de tant de fois, que le pape m'a envoyé appeler pour cet affaire, il me dit, que lorsque l'on étoit après à faire ce mariage, monsieur le cardinal Alexandrin, envoyé légat par le pape Pie V. son oncle, se rencontra en France, et fit tout ce qu'il put pour le détourner; et qu'après en avoir parlé plusieurs fois au dit roi Charles, S. M. le prit un jour par la main, et lui dit, 'Monsieur le cardinal, tout ce que vous me dites est bon. Je le reconnois, et en remercie le pape et vous; et si j'avois quelque autre moyen de me venger de mes ennemis, je ne ferois point ce mariage; mais je n'en ai point d'autre moyen que celui-ci.'

Ajoûta S. S. que lorsque la nouvelle de la S. Barthélemi vint à Rome, le dit cardinal Alexandrin dit, 'Loué soit Dieu, le roi de France m'a tenu promesse.' Disoit S. S. savoir tout ceci, pour ce qu'il étoit auditeur du dit sieur cardinal, et fut avec lui en tout le voyage, que le dit sieur cardinal fit en Espagne premièrement, et puis en France, et qu'il avoit lui-même écrit cela des lors, et se pourroit encore aujourd'hui trouver écrit de sa main, parmi les papiers du dit sieur cardinal Alexandrin. Et est bon, que vous sachiez encore, que comme j'allois informant les cardinaux de la congrégation, un d'eux, à savoir Borghese, me dit, que le pape leur avoit compté cette histoire le jour que les assemble devant soi pour ce fait : dont je suis très-aise. A quoi vous pouvez connoître, entre autres choses, la très-bonne inclination de S. S. au bien de cet affaire ; et la gratitude que le roi et nous tous lui en devons. Aussi me suis-je servi de ce récit, que S. S. me fit, en mon écriture en droit, pour rendre vraisemblable la crainte, qu'on avoit faite à la reine Marguerite, pour lui faire ce mariage."*

This statement had been communicated by the pope to the cardinals on the 31st of August, when he opened to them the subject of the divorce, and stated to them the reasons for and against it, "exhortant les dits cardinaux de bien voir et considérer le tout, chacun à part, et puis s'assembler tous, pour délibérer ensemble de ce qui seroit à faire, et lui rapporter."† From the silence of D'Ossat, in his letter to Villeroi of the 8th of September, it is probable that the fact had not then been disclosed to him.

APPENDIX C.

(MSS. Bib. du Roi. Dup. 523.)

CHARLES TO FERRALZ, AMBASSADOR AT ROME.

24th August, 1572.

Mons. de F., la depesche que vous ai dernièrement fait par Chavigny, touchoit seulement l'article de l'instruction apporté par le Sieur de Beauville vostre nepueu, faisant mention de la dispense du Roi et Royne de Navarre, ayant lors remis a vous faire response sur le surplus a la premiere occasion, je reprendrai donc la premiere article de ladicte instruction, qui faict mention de ce qui intervint nagueres entre vous et l'am-

* Lettres d'Ossat, iii. 418—420.

† Ibid. iii. 401, 402.

bassadeur du Roi Catholique pour la preesance a la messe particulier du Pape.

J'ai aussi sceu par vostre dicte memoire, *que par l'avis de mon cousin le card. de Ferrare vous avez retenu le diamant que je vous avois envoy   pour le donner de ma part au card. Alexandrin, puis que mondict cousin et mes autres ministres trouvent que le don seroit inutile et perdu.*

Referring to the reports which, according to Ferralz's dispatch, the ambassador had spread, that Charles had fomented the troubles of Flanders: he says, "je suis resolu de ne nier plus" . . . since . . . "la certaine verit   fait assez paroistre le contraire."

J'ai recu vos autres depeschcs du vingt-neuf Juillet et 12 de ce mois, par lesquelles j'ai entendu comme sadicte S. estoit dutout arret  e a ne conceder aucunement la dispense des dictes Roi et Royne de Navarre, que aux conditions des quatre pointes par elle proposez, et ne pense pas que ledicte Chavigny qui est arrive depuis pardevers vous en rapporte autre meilleure et plus favorable response, ce qu'ayant consider   a combien l'effect dudicte mariage importoit au repos et salut de mon royaume, je me suis resolu par bon advis de l'accomplir comme il y a   t   lundy dernier solemnellement, et au contentement de tous mes subjects, qui en ont monstr   tres grande jouissance, ce que j'ai bien voulu faire entendre a sadicte Sainctet   par ledicte sieur de Beauville vostre nepueu, que j'envoye expres par *de la avecq ample instruction de ce qu'il aura a lui dire et remonstrer sur ce, laquelle il vous communiquera*, desirant que lui arriv   pres de vous ayez a demander audience de sad. S. la plus prompte que vous pourrez, et avant qu'elle puisse rien scavoir de l'occasion du voyage dud. sieur de Beauville, vous y meniez par denvers elle pour lui faire entendre la charge qu'il a du moi, enquoi vous l'assisterez de vostre presence et de ce que verrez estre a propos pour le bien de mon service, et rendre sad. S. capable de mon droite sincere intention pour ce regard. . . .

Audemeurant je veux bien vous advertir que Vendredy dernier, se retirant l'Admiral du Louvre en son logis, un gentilhomme ou soldat jusques icy incogneu estant a une fenetre d'un logis qui respond sur la rue ou ladicte Amiral passoit, lui a tire un coup de harquebuze duquel il a   t   frapp   au bras, et ceste nuit pass  e est advenu *que ceux de la maison de Guise, avec plusieurs seigneurs et gentilhommes qui leur adherent oyans certainement que les amys de l'Amiral vouloient poursuivre sur eux la vengeance de cette blessure, pour les soupcons de'n estre cause, se sont si bien esmeus qu'entre les uns et les autres il s'est pass   un grand sedition, ayant est   forc   le corps de*

garde qui y avoit été ordonné allentour de la maison du dicte Amiral, lui tué avec grand nombre des principaux et autres . tenans son party, et de sa religion, comme aussi il en a été massacré d'autres en plusieurs endroictes de la ville, comme ledict de Beauville vous dira plus particulièrement, *et comme j'espere que N. S. Pere le Pape, pour les raisons que vostre neveu vous fera entendre, ne fera plus de difficulté a m'accorder lad. dispense ou l'absolution qui est tout ce que je vous escrissrai ; pour le present priant, &c.*

APPENDIX D.

(Id. ibid.)

CHARLES TO FERRALZ.

31st July, 1572.

Je pensois avoir toute commodité de respondre à une fois à la généralité de vostre depesche du 15, mais m'estant trouvé par le dicte depesche dutout esloigné de la grace que j'espérois de sa Sainteté, en la dispense que je lui ay requise pour le mariage de ma sœur et du Roi de Navarre, j'ai mis toutes les autres particularités à autre occasion pour vous éclaircir cependant de mon intention sur le fait de la dicte dispense, laquelle j'ai cognue par vostre dicte depesche avoir été accroché par sad. S. sur quatre pointes : scavoir, que le Roi de Navarre fait un secrette profession de foi en ma presence, qu'il requievre ou fait requerir de sa parte lad. dispense, fait restituer les ecclesiastiques des pays et terres de sa souveraineté en leur biens et bénéfices, avec l'exercice de la religion, et espousé madicte sœur en face de Sainté Eglise, comme il est accoustumé faire pardeca, sans aucun deguisement ny alteration des solemnities et ceremonies qui y sont observées. A cela j'ai respondre a S. S., que laissant a pars combien que je trouve esloigne cette response de l'esperance qu'elle avoit toujours donné de me satisfaire en cet endroit, et que je crois que ce soit par pratiques et menées d'aucuns pour tirer la chose en longueur, je ne suis pas a considerer sa bonne et louable intention d'approcher le plus que lui sera possible toutes ses actions, et de ceux qui doivent dependre de lui, de la vray institution de l'Eglise, et en son particulier de n'offenser le repos de son estat, comme chacun est naturellement desireux que je loue et desire infiniment de ma part, mais en ce fait il fault qu'il mette en consideration que outre que c'est chose ordinaire que la dispense des degres de consanguinité, et

accorde a un chacun comme est celui-cy que les loix et institutions qui sont introduites soit au spirituel, ou en la police humaine, comme elles sont pour contenir et reffrenir la passion des hommes, et les acheminir au service de Dieu et a l'utilité publique, aussi est il quelques fois expedient de laisser a part les dictes loix, et faire ce que temps et la necessité requiert. Some examples adduced. . . Charles goes on to express a hope that Henry will ultimately consent to all that the Pope has proposed as conditions; but, having been brought up in the reformed religion, it is almost impossible "que selon l'ordre et reputation que les princes et estates tiennent en leurs affaires de l'y disposer si chaudement, quand bien il y auroit quelque inclination comme j'en ai assez de preuve, et que le seule moyen d'en tenir le fruit desire est le mariage par le benefice duquel se sentent honoré de mon amitie et faveur et bienveillance, et moi n'estant endormi a ce qui peut servir au bien et repos de mon estat, je me promets bien de le retirer." If the Pope should continue inexorable, the ambassador is directed that, "vous sa prierez en mon nom et en presence de mes cousins les Card. de Ferralz et de Lorrain et d'Est, lesquelles vous prierez de ma part vous assister en cette audience, de prendre en bonne part si je suis contrainct d'adviser aux moyens qui peuvent servir au repos de mon estat, et passer outre au dicte mariage come je y suis dutout resolu."

APPENDIX E.

THE following letters can leave little doubt that the massacre at Lyons and Bourdeaux, and, it may be presumed, in the other cities and towns, took place in pursuance of orders from the court.

(MSS. Bib. du Roi, Sanc. 61. p. 72.)

DISPATCH OF CHARLES TO MAUDELLOT, GOVERNOR OF LYONS.

Dated 28th August.

Au surplus quelque commandement verbal que j'aie peu faire a ceux que j'ay envoyé tant d'envers vous que autres gouverneurs et mes lieutenants generals, lorsque j'avois juste cause de malvoir et craindre quelqun' funeste evenement, ayant sceu la conjuration que faisoit le dicte Admiral Alencontre de moi, j'ai revocqué et revocque tout cela, ne voullant que par vous ne autres en soit aucun chose execute que est contre ce que je vous a donne pour cette heure

MAUDELLOT TO CHARLES.

5th Sept.

Sire, — J'ai reçu la lettre qu'il a pleu a votre Matie. m'escire du 28ieme du moys passe, avec son ordonnance et declaration faicte sur la mort advenue de l'Admiral et ses adherens et complices, que je ferai publier ce jourd'hui en cette ville et par tout le ressort de ce gouvernement suivant ce qu'il lui a pleu me commander, et y donnerai si bon ordre qu'elle sera estroitement gardé et observé de façon qu'elle n'y aura que tout contentement. Mais votre majesté devra a cette heure avoir entendu, par le gentilhomme que je lui ai depesche, *ce qu'est advenue en cette ville le dernier du mois passé, quatre jours auparavant que j'ai reçu les dictes ordonnances et lettres de votre majesté par laquelle elle revoque tous les commandements verbals* qu'elle pourroit avoir faict faire par ceux qu'il lui avoit pleu depescher denvers ses lieutenans generaux, en sorte qu'elle veult et entend qu'ils ne (the MSS. illegible) a execution. J'ai aussi receu, Sire, la lettre qu'il a pleu a votre Matie. m'escire, par laquelle elle me mande avoir été advertie qu'il y a ung homme qui est parti de par dela avec la teste qu'il avoit prinse dudict Amiral apres avoir été tue, pour la porter a Rome, et de prendre garde quand ladicte homme arrivra en cette ville, et de le faire arreter, et lui oter la dicte teste. A quoi j'ai incontinent donné si bon ordre que s'il se presenté le commandement qu'il plait a votre majesté me faire sera ensuivi. Et n'est passe [au jour ici] par cette ville autre personne pour s'en aller du côté de Rome qu'ung escuyer de Monsr. de Guise nomme [Paulo] lequel estoit parti quatre heurs auparavant (the MSS. illegible) que je recus ladicte lettre de votre Matie.

THE PRESIDENT L'AGEBASTON TO CHARLES

(7th October, 1572. St. Germain, H, 326. tom. ii. p. 154.)

Relates the disturbances at Bordeaux . . . "le troisieme de ce mois, en plein jour, a la relevée du diner."

On hearing the news of what had occurred at Paris, he declares that he and the other authorities had taken all possible measures . . . "pour bien contenir vos subjects en vostre obeissance et les faire vivre en l'union et repos." . . . Monsr. de Montpeçat had all along "semblablement toujours dict" "que vous ne demandiez que l'obeissance et tranquillité. De quoi tout le peuple de deca, qui de foi est fort bon et fort obeissant, ne infiniment loué Dieu et vous, et s'est

grandement resjouy meme d'acquerir par tel moien l'honneur d'estre maintenant et contre son ancien coutume le plus temperéz de votre royaulme. Bien est il vray que cependant quelques prescheurs se sont par leur sermons (ainsi que dernièrement j'ai escript plus amplement a votre majesté) estudie de tout leur pouvoir de troubler ciel et terre, et conciter le peuple a sedition, et en ce faisant a passer par le fil de l'espee tous ceulx de la pretendue religion reformée." . . .

He goes on to say that the soldiers were inclined to raise a disturbance for the sake of pillage. "*Et qui pis est tant cappitaines que soldats ont été extrêmement marries, et en ont fait beaucoup de doleance de ce qu'a troupes ceux de la religion recevoient, et faisoient profession de la religion Catholique apostolique Romaine en si grand nombre, que si l'on eut encores attendu huit jours a faire ce qu'on fait led. troisieme jour, il n'y eut pas eu en cesledte. ville huit Hugunots de reste de douze cens maisons qu'il en y avoit. . . . Apres avoir des le premier et deuxieme de cette mois fait courrir un bruit sourd que vous, Sire, aviez envoié nom par nom au rolle signé de votre propre main au Sieur de Montferand, pour par voie de fait et sans aultre forme de justice, mettre a mort quarante des principaulx de cette ville, et deux nuits suivants, et mesmes en la derniere d'icelles, on ha fait entrer la susd. plus grande quantité de soldats, et quand on ha aussi gagné tous les capitaines des forces de la ville, qui estoient bien pour empescher tele execution, et ce fait ledte. troisieme jour le dicte de Montferand ha sur le neuf a diz heures mandé venir ces jurats a son logis, et leur ha dicté et déclaré qu'il avoit ledte. commandement de vous sans le leur monstrec et sans en avoir onque parole ni communiqué a made. compagnie ni aux capitaines de vos chateaux; et pour ce qu'il disoit que le commandiez ainsi, ha fait assister les jurats en personne et avec leurdtes. forces aux executions qui s'en sont ensuivres. Et en mesme instant aucuns soldats de lesdtes. capitaines se sont vis a vis de vostre Palais, et de vostre cour ha mandé venir en icelle le dicte Sr. de Montferand, pour scavoir . . . d'ou precedent tels façons de faire, et afin qu'il y mist l'ordre requis. Toutesfois apres l'avoir pour ces effect attendu plus d'une heure apres son accoutumée seance, et ledicte De Montferand ne venant point, elle s'est levée. Vray est qu'en chemin aucuns des principaulx dicelle vostre cour l'ont rencontré qui lui ont déclarée ladte. cause pour laquelle on l'avoit mandé, et que sur ce ha répondu qu'il y pouruvoioiet. Mais tous l'ordre qu'il y a mis a été qu'apres avoir disposés en garde les jurats, et leur forcés par les canthons des rues de la ville, et lui prete en person, a cheval, ses capitaines et soldats, ont*

massacre deux ou trois conseillers de votre cour et mesmes de ceulx auxquels d'aillieurs on portoit grand inimitie, privée et capitale, et d'aultres personnages de qualite, et autres jusques bien au uombre de quatre vingts (ainsi qu'on dict), et entre eulx ont aussi offenses plusieurs Catholiques, pille et saccagé grand nombre de maisons des (the MSS. illegible) et mesmement toute la riche des argentiers la mellieure et plus opulente en riche merchandise qui fust en cette ville. . . . Sire, il semble sous vostre meilleur commandement a tout homme de bon jugement, qu'on ne doit pas facilement croire aud. Sr. de Montferand, ne a aultre quelconque pour grande que soit sa dignité, *qu'il ait de vous le commandement qu'il dict si premier il ne le monstre*: mesmement a ceux qui tiennent autant ou plus lieu en vostre service pardeca, qu'il faict: et principalement en chose tant extraordinaire, et de si grand consequence que celle dont est question. Et qu'en oultre sans tres grande et forte et urgente cause il n'est point vraisemblable qu'il soit entre en vostre cœur de commander tels exploits estre faicts pardeca et en ville fort paisible, non seulement pour ce que vous aimez vos subjects comme le pere faict ses enfans, et comme vrai Roi et bon tuteur de vostre peuple ne cherchez que le bien et repos d'icellui, et non seulement aussi pour ce que vous n'etes pas moins envieulx de ce qu'on dira cy apres mesmes en nations estranges de vos estat et de vous, que de la bon constitution future d'icellui et de l'immortalité de vostre nom, mais aussi pour ce qu'avec l'église Catholique, et par le vraie nature de tous peres, vous aimez mieux l'emendement et retour de vos subjects a la vrai Religion comme ordinairement par deca ils y retournent a troupes tous les jours, *que non pas de les faire tuer et massacrer*, et vous affoiblir toujours et vos forces d'autant, et de la benevolence de vos subjects. Il semble aussi aux plus clairs voyans (sous vostre mesme meilleur commandement qu'il n'y a rien ici de semblable a l'excmple de ce qui s'est fait a Paris, d'autant que là, vostre Mate. et la Royne vostre mere, et messeigneurs vostres freres y etans, et la conspiration preste a executer, et si pressante quelle ne pouvoit attendre la voie ordinaire de la justice, il a mieux valu commencer par la fait pour cest seul cause, mais en ceste ville delaquelle vous etes esloignés de six a sept vingts lieux, il n'y a rien de semblable. . . .

“Sire, quand par surprise au despourveu, comme j'ai dict, un homme de ma qualite, et de mon age, ha veu ainsi furieusement commencer par execution, je me suis jetté dedans ce chateau du Hapour saulver si je puis ma vie, d'autant qu'ordinairement ledte. de Montferand seme que je suis des comprins par ledte. Rolle.” . . .

APPENDIX F.

(From M. de Chateaubriand's MSS. copies and extracts from the Dispatches of the Nuncio Salviati, in the library of the Vatican.)

SALVIATI TO THE CARDINAL SECRETARY OF STATE.

Letter of 22d August, 1572.

QUESTA sara solamente per dirgli che hoggi verso mezzo giorno tornando l'Amiraglio dall' Palazzo dell' Re detto del Lovro, &c. [Here follows an account of the wound received from the arquebuss, similar to that usually given] —

* * * * *

La casa è di un Beneffo. di M. Vilemes già protettore e oggi quasi governante di tutti gli affari di M. de Guisa, benchè di presente truovi fuori di Parigi, e nel partire lasciassi ordine ad una donna che vi resto per guardia, che capitandovi alcuno parente e amico di M. Sciaulis [Chailly] Mro. di casa del Re, e uomo dependente da Guizi, lo dovesse alloggiare e quanto tale che ha tirato l'archibugiata andatovi come dependente di M. Sciaulis e ha dormito questa notte passata senza saputa di lui, perquanto dicono che sta in Corte e effectualmente di presente serve il Re, e a questi giorni passati l'istessa casa fu signata da i forieri del Re per Mad. de Nemors quale sen' è servita per la sua famiglia, mentre è alloggiata in Corte, di dove per esse gravida e alquanto indisposta, si parti alcuni giorni sono.

APPENDIX G.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Letter of 24th of August.

AFTER alluding to the account before sent of the Admiral's wound, he says, — “Ma sta notte due hore dopo mezza notte per commandamento del Re sono stati tagliati a pezzi tutti gl' Ugonotti, havendo commessa l'essecutione a M. il Cavr. suo fratello bastardo, M. di Guisa, M. d' Aumala, che andano all' alloggiamento del' Amiraglio, &c. [There is nothing new in the details given of the massacre.]

“In questo poco de tempo corso dopo che fu ferito l'Amiraglio, l'Ugonotti hanno sempre parlato e trattato arrogantissime, e in particolare hieri Rosciafoco e Teligny dissero alla Regina parole troppo insolente. Si l'archibugiato ammazzava subito

l'Ammiraglio non si risolvo a credere che si fusse fatto tanto a un pezzo ; quale in tutti questi accidente ha monstrato cuore e valore maravigliosissimo, con tutto che da motti si dica il contrario, forse non si accorgendo esser stato bene per far che il Re più chiaramente cognosce in che angustia si trovava : le persone del Re, di M. e di M. le Duc sono stati nel palazzo armati con le guardie. Non sono state ammazzate donne di considerazione e dell' altre qualch' una per il tumulto e sollevamento grande del popolo, e prigione n' e state incenate parecchie da M. di Loscies, e da altri per commandamento del Re. La citta tutta se messa in arme, e le case degl' Ugonotti sono state assediate. . . . And after describing the disorders and plunder Accioche le cose non passarono troppo oltre, e non seguissero le disordini fastidiosi per l' orgoglio della plebe, fu fatto un editto poco fa che debbono essere tre hore di giorno per il quale si commandava che non si dovesse piu ne rubbare ne ammazzare, e si ubidisce non intieramente.

*“ Quando scrisse a giorni passatia V. S. in cifra che l' Amiraglio s'avengera troppo, e che gli darebbono sul ungia, gia mi ero accorto che non lo volevano piu tollerare, e molto piu me confermai nell' opinione quando con caratteri ordinarii gli scrivevo che sperava *dote haver occasione dare quale buona nuova* a S. B., benché ma haversi creso la Xma. parte di quello che a presente veggo con gli occhi.*

“ Che molti siano stati consapevoli del fatto è necessario potendogli dire che a 21 la mattina, essendo col Cardl. di Borbone e M. de Montpensier, viddi che ragionavano si domesticamente di quello che doveva seguire, che in me medmo. restando confuso, conobbi che la prattica andava gagliarda e piu tosto disperai di buon fine che altrimenti.

“ A. N. S. mi faccia gratia di basciar i piedi in nome mio, col quale mi rallegro con le viscere del cuore che sia piaciuto alla Dva. Msa. d' incaminar nel principio del suo pontificato si felicemente e honoratamente le cose de go. regno, havendo talmento havuto in protettione il Re e Regine Madre che hanno saputo e potuto sbarrare queste pestifere radice con tanta prudenza, in tempo tanto opportuno che tutti lor ribelli erano sotto chiave in gabbia.

“ Qual Regina in progresso di tempo intende poi non solo di revocar tal editto, ma per mezo de la giustizia di restituere la fede cattolica nel antica osservanza, parendogli che nessuno ne debba dubitare, adesso che hanno fatto morire l' Amiraglio con tanti altri huomini di valore, conforme a ragionamente altre volte havuto con esso meco, essendo a Blès, e trattando del parentado di Navarra e dell' altre cose che correvano in quei

tempi, il che essendo vero ne posso rendere testimonianza, e a N. S. e a tutto il mondo.”

APPENDIX II.

(Leaf of the above Letter in Cipher.)

Con tutto che mi paio haver scritto assai distesamente de le cause de le uccisione deli Ugonotti, nondimeno vo pensando che dicendone ancora alcuna cosa non sia per esser discara. Mentre l'Amiraglio e stato a la corte, si era con arte e imperio tanto ingerito con il Re che quasi governava, risolvendosi la maggior parte de le cose quasi secondo il suo parere con dispiacere di Morvigliero, Conte di Retz e altri, e grandissima gelosia di Mad. la Regente che segretamente trattando con Mad. di Nemours delibero di uscire di affanni, e di farlo ammazzare, e inanzi che fusse risoluto che gli si havesse a tirare l'archibugata dal Tedesch allievo di M. di Guisa vecchio, intorno a cio Mad. de Nemours tenuta qualche ragionamento con M. de Guisa suo figlio fu da lui stimolata a tirare l'archibusata, mentre l'Amiraglio fusse con la Regte. persuadendola con il monstrarli quanto fusse facil cosa di scaricar un archibuso ad uno che non si guarda, e che essendo tra donne e con la Regente ragionevolmente doveva disporre ogni sospetto.

Ma poiche tirata fu l'archibusata dal Tedesco con saputa di M. D. Angiu e non del Re, vedendo la Regente che l'Amiraglio non moriva, e vedendo a quanto pericolo si era esposto, e da la propria conscientia insospettita, e dale insolente parole che uscivano da tutti la Ugonotteria, che in modo alcuno volse accommodarsi a credere che l'archibusata fusse stata tirata da insidiatore mandati dal Duca d' Alva, secondo che sempre lei si era persuasa de dover dare loro a credere si volse al Re esortandolo a la uccisione seguita da tutti.

APPENDIX I.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

22d September.

Cui facesse tirar l'archibugiata all' Amiraglio, e perche causa, e a che si debba attribuire l'ultima risolute. dell' amazzamento di tanti, e quali fussino gli esecutori, con il nome di capi principali, io so d' havergliene scritto, e che non mi sono gabbato punto, e se ho lasciato di scrivere alcuni altri partirc., n' e stato

potissa. causa la difficulta che e in questo paese a ritrovare la verita delle cose.

APPENDIX K.

(In a Letter in Cipher. Same Date.)

Tutti le cose che si saranno lette del archibusata e morte del Amiraglio diverse da quello che io gli scrisse col tempo si accorgiera se siano vere. Mad. laRegente venuta in differenza di lui risolvendosi pochi giorni prima, gli la fece tirare, e senza saputa del Re, ma con participatione di M. di Angiu, de Mad. de Nemours, e di M. di Guisa suo figlo.; e se moriva subito non si ammazzava altri, e non essendo morto, e dubitando lei di qualche gran male restringendosi con il Re, deliberono di buttare la vergogna da banda, e di farlo ammazzare insieme con li altri, e quello notte istessa fu mandato a esecuzione.

APPENDIX L.

(MSS. Bib. du Roi. St. Germain, 1247.)

HARANGUE DE M. DE BELLIEVRE AUX SUISSES A LA DIETTE
TENUE A BAPEN.

THIS exists in print, but is not common. Some extracts from the original rough copy may be useful. It is very obscure, and full of alterations, but in the same hand.

It commences with a dissertation on the dangerous policy which the Admiral was desirous of inducing the king to adopt . . . and represents him as forming a party "pour introduire un dangereuse tyrannie mesime de quelque forme de republique et dissolution populaire." . . .

It then denies that the "execution faite a Paris" was a part of a general design against "tous ceux qui sont de la mesime religion. [It is impossible to state the exact language, on account of the obscurity of the writing.] . . .

. . . Si quelq'un icy me demande pourquoi estee que le Roi lui faisoit tant de faveurs puisque long temps il l'avoit cognu pour meschant et disloyal subject, je serai contraint de confesser que celuila plaincte . . . des bons subjects de sa Majesté." . . .

After mentioning the firing of the arquebuss, — "Le Roi . . . lors au jeu de la paulne ou la nouvelle lui en fut porte, souldain on le [voit] tout esmeu d'indignation, quicta le

jeu, et portant sa raquette dict tout hault que ceux qui faisoient cet action le vouloient remettre aux troubles mais qu'avec l'ayde de dieu il y pourvuirrait bien.

" Monseigneur fist soudainement les principaulx de son conseil pour adviser de l'ordre qui se devoit ordonner . . . et *sans aucun dissimulation* le proces fust fait a ceux qui se trouvoient coupables. . . [The King's visit to the Admiral is then mentioned.] . . . Mais la samedy jour suivant de sa blessure ayant été jugé par tous les chirurgcons que le coup n'estoit pas mortel, il se feist lever du lict. . . Ce jour mesmes fust tenu conseil en son logis et resolu qu'il falloit pour avoir leur vengeance aller dans le chateau du Louvre tuer Monsr. de Guise fust il aux pieds du Roi. Ils tiendrent plusieurs mauvais propos de la Royne mere de sa Mate., et de Monseigr. le duc D'Anjou. La Royne quand elle vouloit aller a son esbat accoutüme aux (illegible) fust adverti par des tres notables personnegs de sa . . . desquelles elle ne pouvoit doubter ne de l'affection et bon volünté elles portoient a ceux de la dicte religion, que si sa Mate. ou pareillement Monsr. le duc d'Anjou sortoient hors les portes de la ville de ce jour la, ils se mettroient en bien grand danger de leurs vies : les avis d'une si dangereuse conspiration . . . au Roi et a autres.

" Enfin quand on eust eu la certitude de l'entreprise qu'ils avoient fait d'entrer en armes dans la Louvre et de tuer Monsr. de Guise, et les menaces que l'on faisoit oter la Royne mere du Roi, et Monsr. le duc d'Anjou, sa Maté se voyant presse d'un si grand et evident peril de perdre sa coronne, sa vie, celles des personnes qu'elle avoit et devoit avoir les plus cheres en ce monde, ne peut avoir lors autre recours (apres Dieu) qu'au bon et sage conseil et assistance de plusieurs grands princes, principaulx officiers de sa couronne, et seigneurs de son royaume, qui se trouvoient lors en sa court, lesquels tous de commun accord et comme d'une voix apres avoir considéré le danger ou le Roi et son royaulme se trouvoient remonstroient tres-humblement a sa Majesté, que pour son service et pour le bien de la paix, ils avoient supporte de l'Amiral tout ce que gens de bien peulvent endurer : qu'ils n'avoient pas moins d'affection d'obeir en toutes choses aux bons vouldoirs et commandmts. de sa Majesté que onques ayent, et soit qu'il faille supporter en patience l'insolence de l'Amiral ou qu'il faille reprendre les armes pour le combattre en la campagne. Mais qu'il plaist a sa Maté. de considerer le grand perte de sa noblesse, de ses villes, et de son peuple, qu'il a deja faicte a l'occasion d'un si malheureux homme, non homme, mais beste furieuse et irreconciliable qui avoit perdu tout craincte de

Dieu et des hommes, &c. &c. . . . A cette occasion suppliant humblement sadte. Maté. pour mettre fin a tout de malheurs dont le Royaume estoit menacé, et qui lui pourroit a toucher doigt, qu'il lui pleut user de l'autorité que Dieu lui avoit mis en main a l'extinction d'un si pernicieux subject."

He goes on to argue that it was impossible to proceed with security in the ordinary way of justice.

"Je ne nierai pas que beaucoup des pauvres gens qui ne scavoient rien de cette malheureuse enterprise n'en aye suffert; j'ai veu a sa Maté. suffrir a cette occasion une merveilleuse peine, mais quand un people ulceré des injures si frequentes qu'ils avoit . . . un espece de vengeance . . . de grandeur du pillage qu'ils se voyoit entre les mains."

He confesses, "a mon tres-grand regret," that there were committed, "beaucoup de choses indignes de la douceur et de la debbonairete de mon Prince. Le cheval avoit prins le mors entre les dents et ne faisoit plus compte de chose . . . Le Roi, Monseigneur le duc d'Anjou son lieutenant, Mons. le duc d'Alencon, freres de sa Maté. semblablement tants les princes de son sang, et les grand seigneurs du Royaume, se y sont vivement et . . . employes. La Royne mere de sa Maté. y a prins une peine indicible et qui suivante toutes celles que en lui a oue si souvent et si courageusement supporter pour le sureté, repos, et tranquillité de la coronne de France."

BELLIEVE TO CHARLES IX.

15th Dec. 1572. From Baden.

SIRE, Il est presque impossible d'oster de la teste des Protestans que l'intention de V. M. ne soit de se joindre avec le surplus des Princes Catholiques pour mettre par force en leur pays le Concile de Trente a execution. J'ai remonstre en cela tout ce que j'ai peu et deu pour vostre service. Il est bien requis que tous vos serviteurs qui entendent les affaires de l'Allemagne s'employent a leur arracher cette opinion qui les m'et comme au desespoir dont pourroient advenir beaucoup de maulx en vostre royaume. Aussi, Sire, on a parlé en Allemagne, et escrit si fort au desavantage de V. M. touchant l'execution fait contre l'Amiral de Chatillon et ses complices, que je ne lui puis celer, que nous connoissons que a cette occasion vos affaires y prennent un grand recullement. J'ai ici premierement satisfait de response au particuliers, mais je ne scay quelz escrivains qui se sont meslez d'en faire imprimer

des livres en vostre royaume ont traité cet affaire avec peu de jugement, que les Alemans se persuadent de plus en plus ce qui a été bien aisé de leur faire croire, que V. M. ne desiré rien plus que leur ruine et extermination. Sire, j'ai esté a cette occasion conseillé d'en mettre quelque chose par escrit, et en parler ouvertement ainsi que j'ai faict me trouvant en ceste journée, ou je pense avoir satisfait de bonnes raisons ceux qui m'ont ouy, si ce n'est pour le regard d'une si grande license de meurdres que l'on a veus en divers endroicts de vostre royaume, chose que je scai estre advenue au tres grand regret de la douceur de V. M., que je supplie tres-humblement de s'asseurer qu'en cet endroict je n'ai failli de la fidelité et affection que je lui dois, et que j'ai vivement remonstre combien telles choses ont desplu a vostre bonté. Mais ces nations qui sont simples et plus rudes s'esmeuvent grandement de telles choses, et sont plus difficiles a remettre.

APPENDIX M.

(From Murdin's State Papers, p. 558.)

A LETTER FROM THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[The countess of Shrewsbury accused the queen of Scots of intriguing with her husband the earl, and acted as a spy upon her for Elizabeth. Mary avenged herself upon both by the following letter, which is one of the most remarkable pieces of feminine malice. It is doubtful whether it reached Elizabeth: from its being found among the papers of Burleigh, it may be suspected that it was intercepted by that minister. Carte alludes (Gen. Hist. vol. iii. App.) to a mysterious letter buried two feet under ground, at Hatfield, and exhumed by lord Salisbury, the son of Burleigh. Murdin, the editor of the Burleigh Papers, says he could learn nothing of such an incident from tradition or written documents, and found this letter lying open like the other papers. Carte may have alluded to some other. If the following reached Elizabeth, every line must have been a poignard to her heart, and would alone account for her pursuing the writer to death.]

SUIVANT ce que je Vous ay promis et avez depuis desiré, je vous déclare ores, qu'avecques regret, que telles choses soyent amenees en question, mayz tres sincerement et sans aucune passion, dont j'appelle mon Dieu a tesmoing, que la Comptesse

de Schreuesbury madit de Vous ce qui suit au plus pres de ces Termes. A la plus part de quoy je proteste avoir respondu, reprenant la ditte dame de croire ou parler si lisientieusement de Vous, comme chose que je ne 'croyois point, ni croy a present, congnoissant le Naturel de la Comtesse et de quel esprit elle estoit alors poulsee contre vous. Premièrement, qu'un, auquel elle disoit que vous aviez faict promesse de mariage devant une Dame de vostre chambre, avoit couseche infinies foyz avecques Vous avec toute la licence et privaulte qui se peut user entre Mari et femme; Mais qu'indubitablement Vous nestiez pas comme les aultres femmes, et pour ce respect cestoit folle a touz ceulx qui affectoient vostre Mariage avec Monsieur le Duc d'Anjou, d'autant qu'il ne ce pourroit accomplir; et que Vous ne voudriez jamais perdre la liberte de Vous fayre fayre l'amour et auvoir vostre plesir toujours avecques nouveaulx amoureux, regretant ce, disoit elle, que vous ne vous contentiez de Maister Haton, et un aultre de ce Royaulme; mays que pour l'honneur du pays il luy faschoit le plus, que vous aviez non seulement engage vostre honneur avecques un estrangier Nommé Simier, l'alant trouver de nuit en la chambre dune dame, que la dicte Comtesse blamoit fort a ceste occasion la, ou Vous le baisiez et usiez avec luy de diverses privaultes deshonestes; mays aussi luy revelliez les segretz du Royaulme, trahisant vos propres Couseillers avvesques luy: Que Vous vous estiez desportee de la mesme dissolution avec le Duc son Maystre, qui vous avoit este trouver une nuit à la porte de vostre chambre, ou vous laviez rancontre avec vostre seule chemise et manteau de nuit, et que par apres vous laviez laisse entrer, et qu'il demeura avecques Vous pres de troys heures. Quant au dict Haton, que vous le couriez a force, faysant si publiquement paroître l'amour que luy portiez, qui luy mesmes estoit contreint de s'en retirer, et que Vous donnastes un soufflet a Kiligreu pour ne vous avoir ramene le dict Haton, que vous aviez envoiay rappeler par luy, s'estant desparti en chollere d'avecques vous pour quelques injures que luy aviez dittes pour certains boutons dor qu'il avoit sur son habit. Qu'elle avoit travaille de fayre espouser au dit Haton, la feu Comtesse de Lenox sa fille, mays que de creinte de Vous, il ne osoit entendre; que mesme le Comte d'Oxford nosoit se rappointer avecques sa femme de peur de perdre la faveur qu'il esperoit recevoir par vous fayre l'amour: Que vous estiez prodigue envers toutes telles gens et ceulx qui ce mesloient de telles mesnees, comme a un de Vostre Chambre Gorge, auquel Vous aviez donne troys centz ponds de rante pour vous avvoir apporte les nouvelles du retour de Haton: Qu'a toutz aultres Vous estiez fort ingrate chische, et qu'il ni

avoit que troys ou quatre en vostre Royaulme a qui Vous ayez jamais fait bien : Me conseillant, en riant extremement, mettre mon filz sur les rancs pour vous faire l'amour, comme chose qui me serviroit grandement et metroit Monsieur le Duc hors de quartier ; qui me seroit tres prejudisable si il i continuoit ; et lui repliquant, que cela seroit pris pour une vraye moquerie, elle me respondit que Vous estiez si vayne et en si bonne opinion de vostre beaute, comme si vous estiez quelque deesse du ciel ; qu'elle prandroit sur la teste de le vous fayre croire facilement et entretiendrait mon filz en ceste humeur ; Que Vous preniez si grand plesir en flateries hors de toute rayson, que l'on vous disoit, comme de dire, qu'on ne vous osoit par foyz regarder a plain, d'autant que vostre face luysoit comme le Soleil : Qu'elle et toutes les aultres Dames de la Court estoient contreintes d'user, et qu'en son dernier voyage vers Vous, Elle et la feu Comtesse de Lenox parlant a Vous n'osoient s'entrecarder l'une et l'autre de peur de s'eclater de rire des cassades quelle vous donnoit, me priant a son retour de tancer sa fille quelle n'avoit jamais sceu persuader de fayre le mesme ; et quant a sa fille Talbot, elle s'assuroit qu'elle ne faudroit jamais de vous rire au nez ; la dicte dame Talbot lors quelle vous alla fayre la reverance et donner le ferment comme l'une de voz servantes, a son retour imediatement, me le comtant comme une chose fayte en moquerie, me pria de l'accepter pareill, may plus ressent et entier vers moy, du quel je feiz long tems refus ; mays a la fin a force de larmes je la laissez faire, disant quelle ne voudroit pour chose du monde estre en vostre service pres de vostre personne, d'autant quelle auroit peur que quand seriez en cholere ne lui fissies comme a sa cousine Skedmur, a qui vous aviez rompu un doibt, faciant a croire a ceulx de la court, que cestoit un chandelier qui estoit tombe dessus ; et qu'a une aultre vos servant a telle aviez donne un grand coup de cousteau sur la mayn : Et en un mot, pour ces derniers points et communs petitiz raportz, Croyez que vous estiez jouee et contrefaite par elles comme en commedie entre mes fammes mesmes ; ce qu'apercevant, je vous jure que je deffendis a mes fammes ne ce plus mesler. Davantage, la dicte Comtesse ma autrefois advertie que Vovs voulliez appointer Rolson pour me fayre l'amour et essayer de me deshonorer, soyt en effect ou par mauvais bruit, de quoy il avoit instructions de vostre bouche propre : Que Ruxby veint ici, il i a environ VIII ans, pour attemper a ma vie, ayant parle a vous mesmes, qui lui aviez dit quil fit ce a que Walsingham luy commenderoit et dirigeroit. Quant la dicte Comtesse poursuivoit le mariage de son filz Charles avecques une des niepieces du Milord Paget, et que daultre part Voulliez l'avoir

par pure et absolue authorite pour un des Knoles, pour ce quil estoit vostre parent ; elle crioit fort contre vous, et disoit que cestoit une vraye tyrannie, voulant a vostre fantasie enlever toutes les heritieres du pays, et que vous aviez indignement use le dit Paget par parolles injurieuses ; mays qu'enfin la Noblesse de ce Royaume ne le vous souffrisoit pas mesmement, si vous addressiez a telz aultres quelle connoissoit bien. Il y a environ quatre ou sing ans que Vous estant malade et moy aussi au mesme temps, elle me dit, que vostre Mal provenoit de la closture d'une fistulle que vous aviez dans une jambe ; et que Vous mourriez bien tost, s'en resjouissant sur une vayne imagination quelle a eue de long temps par les predictions d'un nomme Jon Lenton, et d'un vieulx liuvre qui prediroit vostre mort par violence, et la succession d'une aultre Royne, quelle interpretoit estre moy, regretant scullement que par le dit liuvre il estoit predit que le Roynequi vous deubroit succeder ne regneroit que trois ans, et mourroit comme vous, par violence, ce que estoit represente mesme en peinture dans le dit liuvre, auquel il y avoyt un dernier feuillet, le contenu duquel elle ne ma jamais voulu dire. Elle scait elle mesme que jay tousjours pris cela pour une pure follie, mays elle fesoit bien son compte destre la premiere aupres de moy, et mesmeinent que mon filz espouseroit ma niepce Arbela. Pour la fin je vous jure encores un coup sur ma foy et honneur que ce que desubz est tres veritable ; et que de ce qui conserne vostre honneur, il ne mest jamays tombe en l'entendement de vous fayre tort par le reveller ; e qu'il ne ce scaura jamays par moy, le tenant pour tres faulx. Si je puis avoir cest heur de parler a vous, je vous diray plus particulierement les noms, tenus, lieux et aultres sirconstances pour vous fayre congnoistre la verite et de cessi et d'aultres choses que je reserve, quant je seray tout a fayt asseuree de vostre amitie, laquelle comme je desire plus que jamays, aussi si je la puis ceste foyz obtenir, vous neustes jamays parente, amye, ny mesmes subject, plus fidelle et affectionnee que je vous seray. Pour Dieu asseurez Vous de celle qui vous veult et peult Servir. De mon lit forçant mon bras et mes douleurs pour vous satisfayre et obeir.

MARIE R.

APPENDIX N.

(Bib. du Roi. Paris. Brienne, t. 34. p. 412.)

Advis et memoire de ce qu'il a été fait en Angl. par M. de Bellievre, et de ce que s'y est passé sur les affaires de la Reine d'Ecosse ès mois de 9bre et xbre 1586, et Janvier 1587.

“ . . . Sa compagnie arriva a Londres le Lundi premier jour de Decembre a midi. Le lendemain il envoya le Sr. de Villieve vers le Royne d'Angleterre, qui tenoit sa cour en son Chateau de Richemont, pour la prier de lui donner audience, et comme la malice de cette femme est infinie elle voulut différer quelques jours de veoir Mondt. Seignr. pendant lesquelles elle faisoit secretement proceder par les Estats en Parlement au proces extraordinaire de cette pauvre Princesse la Royne d'Ecosse.” . . .

The writer then proceeds to state that Elizabeth used “fausses pretextes” to delay an audience; one, that some of the suite of the embassy had died at Calais, and, as she alleged, of the plague; the other, that there were in his compagnie “quelques hommes incogneus la venu expres avec lui pour la tuer.”

On the 7th December she sent for him, when he went to Richmond, where “il trouva la dicte Dame assise en son siege royal accompagnée des grands Seigneurs milors du royaume . . . et commenca a lui faire les remonstrances, &c. . . Auxquelles elle fait response presque sur tous les poinctes en bons termes en langage françois, et comme saisie de quelque passion qui apparoissoit a sa contenance remonstra Sa Matie. que la Royne d'Ecosse lui avoit toujours poursuivi, et que c'estoit la troisieme fois qu'elle avoit voullu faire attenter a sa vie par une infinitie de moyens.” . . .

Bellievre returned to London the same day, where he remained some days, “attendant la reponse de la dicte Royne d'Angl. . . . On the 15th, il la pria et supplia puisqu'elle avoit procédé jusque a sentence de mort contre elle qu'il n'etoit plus besoin de faire plus longue sejour en Angleterre, la suppliant de lui donner son conduit pour retourner vers le Roi. . . .

On the 16th sentence of death is passed, “proclamé avec grandes solemnites et ceremonies par toutes les lieux de Londres, et consequamment par toute le Royaume, et sur cette proclamation feirent sonner les cloches de la dicte Ville vingt-quatre heures sans cesser, et fut commandé a ung chacun des habitans d'allumer devant leur portes par les rues des feus comme de joie aussi que nous faisons en France le veille de S. Jean Baptiste. Le lendemain fut la dicte sentence de mort portée et prononcée a la dicte dame Royne d'Ecosse par aucune du Conseil du Royme. accompagnée de grande troupe de la justice qui l'alloyent trouver au lieu et Chateau de Fotheringay. L'on rapporte que cette pauvre princesse ne s'etonna pas grandement, mais avec une grand constance leur dicte que tout le contenu de la dicte sentence n'etoient que mensonges et suppositions controuvees contre elle, et y avoit été procédé

dans la meme forme que feirent les Scribes et Pharisiens contre Jesus Christ, et qu'elle ne pouvoit estre subjecte ni judiciaire," &c. &c. . . .

At this juncture Bellievre writes again to Elizabeth a letter which is given at length. After expressing the earnest desire of his master to prevent violence being offered to Mary, he requests her "donner quelques temps pendant laquelle nous l'advertirons de l'estat des affaires de la Royne d'Ecosse a ce que auparavant que votre majestie y prenne une finalle resolution elle entende ce qu'il plaira à Sa Mate. tres chretienne vous dire et remonstrer sur le plus grande affaire que de notre memoire ait été mis au jugement des hommes."

This letter was sent on the 16th by M. de Chateaufort and other "Signrs. Francois" to Elizabeth at Richmond, signed by Bellievre and M. de Chateaufort, "laquelle Royne ne se voullut laisser voir le dicte jour, s'excusant sur certain indisposition . . . fut la dicte lre. laissée au Seigr. Walsingham, premier Secretaire d'Etat, qui l'assura d'envoyer la reponce dans la lendemain qui fut neanmoins attendue deux ou trois jours que ladicte responce fut apportée verbalement par deux gentilhommes qui vindrent trouver monste. Seigr. a Londres sans aucunes lres." . . . Its effect was to grant 12 days . . . qui fut l'occasion que M. de Gentilzfilz aîné de M. Brulart fut incertainement desché en France . . . after whose audience . . . Sa Majie. se resolut de faire un soudaine desche arrivé a Londres deux jours apres le delai donne de douze.

On the arrival of these despatches, Elizabeth called for Bellievre, who saw her at Greenwich on the 6th Jan., and on his further remonstrances she heard them patiently, jusques sur la fin et derniers mots d'icelle, qui la firent entrer en propos bien aînés et presque indignes. Mr. de Bellievre, avez vous charge du Roi, mon frere, me tenir cette langage? Il lui fait reponse, Oui Madame, J'en ai tres expres commandement de Sa Majie. Elle lui repliqua, Avez vous ce pouvoir signé de sa main? Il lui dit encore, Oui Madame . . . Elle lui dit, Je vous en demande autant signé de la votre. Ce que monste. Seigr. lui envoya des le meme jour. Elle fait lors sortir ceux qui estoient dans la salle, et n'y demeura qu'elle, Mesdts. Srs. de Bellievre, de Chateaufort, ou ils demeurèrent une bonne heure en conference. Neanmoins je n'ai point sceu que mondict Seigr. ait pu tirer d'elle aucun assurance de la vie de la reine d'Ecosse.

Bellievre then "ayant prit congé," the same day puts himself in readiness to leave England two days after. Elizabeth sends "deux gentilhommes de siens vers monste. Seigr. pour le prier de vouloir encore attendre deux ou trois jours"

. . . on which account he waits until the 14th January, when she sends him his passports.

The expostulatory addresses made to Elizabeth by Bellievre are appended to the report. The address entitled of the 6th January closes in these words, which were probably those that excited the anger of Elizabeth.

"Mais quant ce ne seroit le bon plaisir de votre Majestie d'avoir esgard a tant de si grandes considerations pour lesquelles nous vous faisons ceste tres instante et tres affectionnée priere de la part dudit. Seignr. Roy notre maitre ains faire proceder a ung si rigoureux et extraordinaire judgment, il nous a donné charge de vous dire, Madame, qu'il ne pourra qu'il ne s'en ressente comme de chose de l'interest commun de tous les rois que particulièrement l'aura fort offensé."

The topics insisted on in the representations of Bellievre were: — 1. the independence of Mary on the jurisdiction of Elizabeth.

"Je ny puis en facon de monde me 'persuader que votre Mtie. ordonnée de Dieu princesse souveraine en ce beau et grande royaume d'Angleterre, ait voullu reduire au rang des princes et declarer judiciable la royne d'Ecosse, douariere de France, belle sœur du roy votre bon frere et votre cousine germaine." . . . Such a judgment he represents as being, "plutot donné au prejudice de la dignité des roys que contre la puissance de la royne d'Ecosse. Les rois ne sont pas toujours parceilles en grandeurs et puissance, mais en ce qui est de la dignité royale le plus grands n'ont pas voulu jusques à present qu'on leur ayt attribue davantage qu'a ceux qui leur sont inferieurs en pouvoir, et se sont contents entre eux d'user du nom et des loix de fraternité sans presumer qu'ils ayent pouvoir d'ordonner l'un sur l'autre." . . . The dignity and divine authority of princes is then dwelt on in a strain of lofty language . . . and Plato is cited for the opinion that, "La geniture des hommes bas et commune est de plomb ou de fer, celle des rois est d'or."

To the argument that strangers are subject to the laws of the country where they reside it is answered, "que si la royne d'Ecosse avoit eslue son habitation en Angleterre, on lui pourroit apposer que Socrates le voulut à l'observation des lois d'Athenes d'autant qu'auparavant que d'etre prevenu en justice il lui avoit été loisible de choisir et transporter ailleurs. Mais," &c.

With regard to the attempts of Mary against her crown and life, supposing the accusations of her enemies true, it is palliated by a representation, "que la rage and la desesper d'une prison de dixneuf ans l'auroient precipité a suivre quelque

imprudent conseil." The danger which there might exist during the lifetime of Mary of a combination of Catholic princes against the throne of Elizabeth, far from being obviated by the death of Mary, . . . "plutot l'occasion en sera redoublée et le pretexte de la dicte guerre rendu plus specieux qu'il n'etoit auparavant pour la juste vengeance d'une acte sy estrange et si extraordinaire."

The rest consists of general entreaties, advising mercy and moderation, in favour of which all kinds of historical, classical, and sacred allusions are brought together. Beginning with the hymn of Callimachus to Jove, he cites the examples of Achilles and Priam, Alexander and Darius, Totilus and Antistia, Augustus and Cinna, David and Saul.

"La Nouvelle de cette execution vint a Londres furent sonnées les cloches de toutes les eglises vingt-quatre heures durant, et sur le soir furent faites feus de joie par les rues de la dicte ville."

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

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